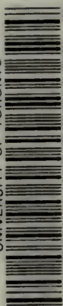
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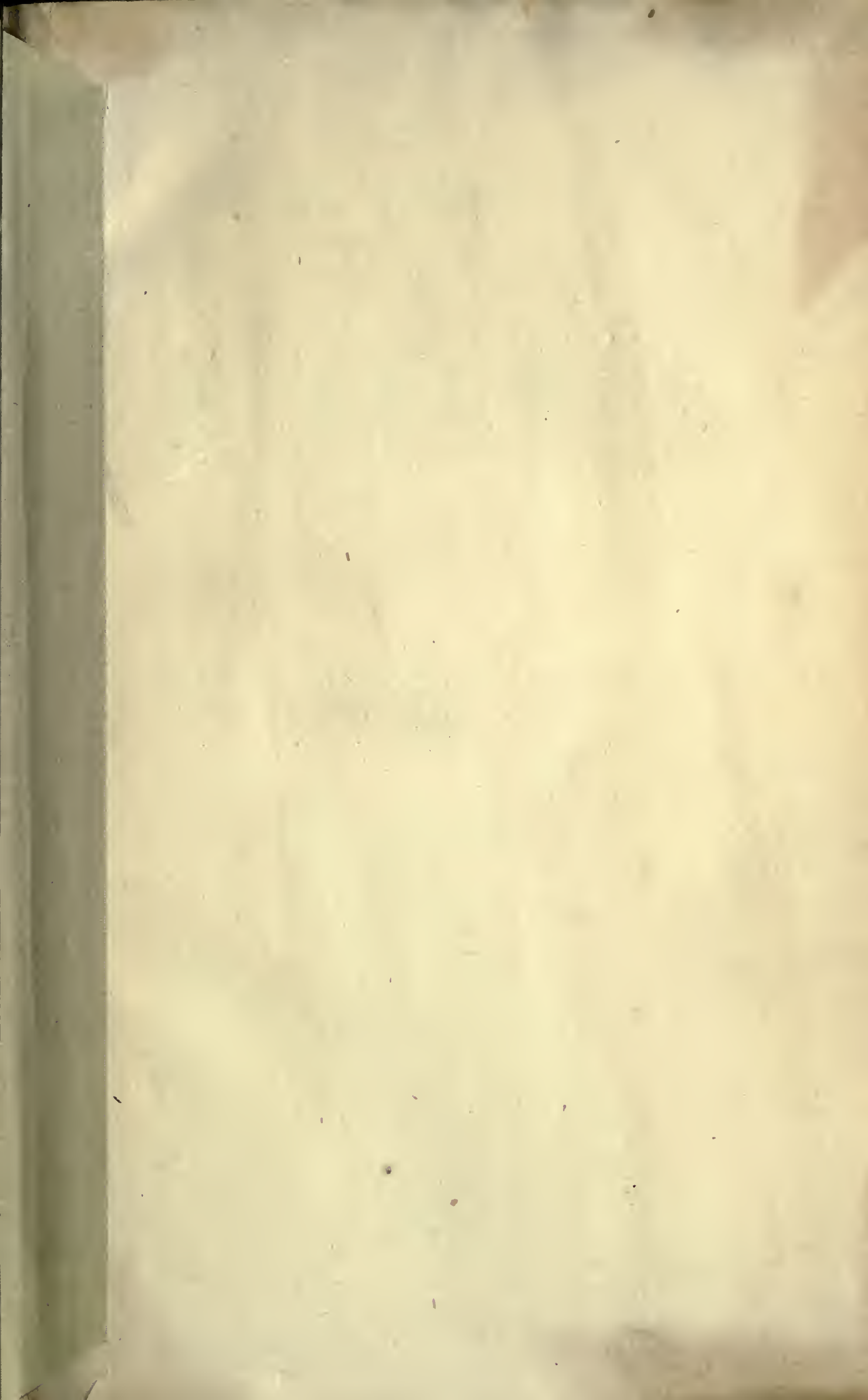

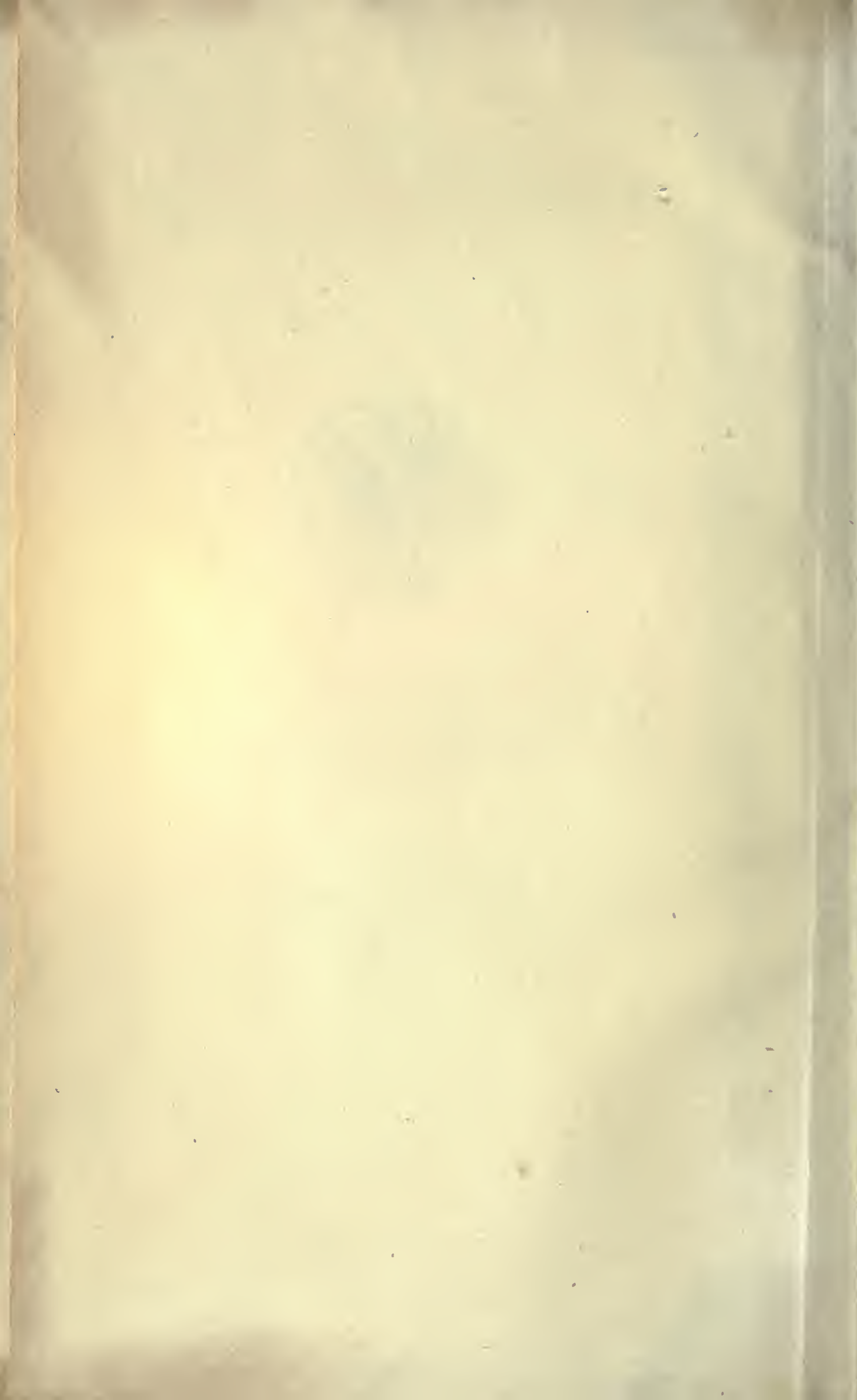

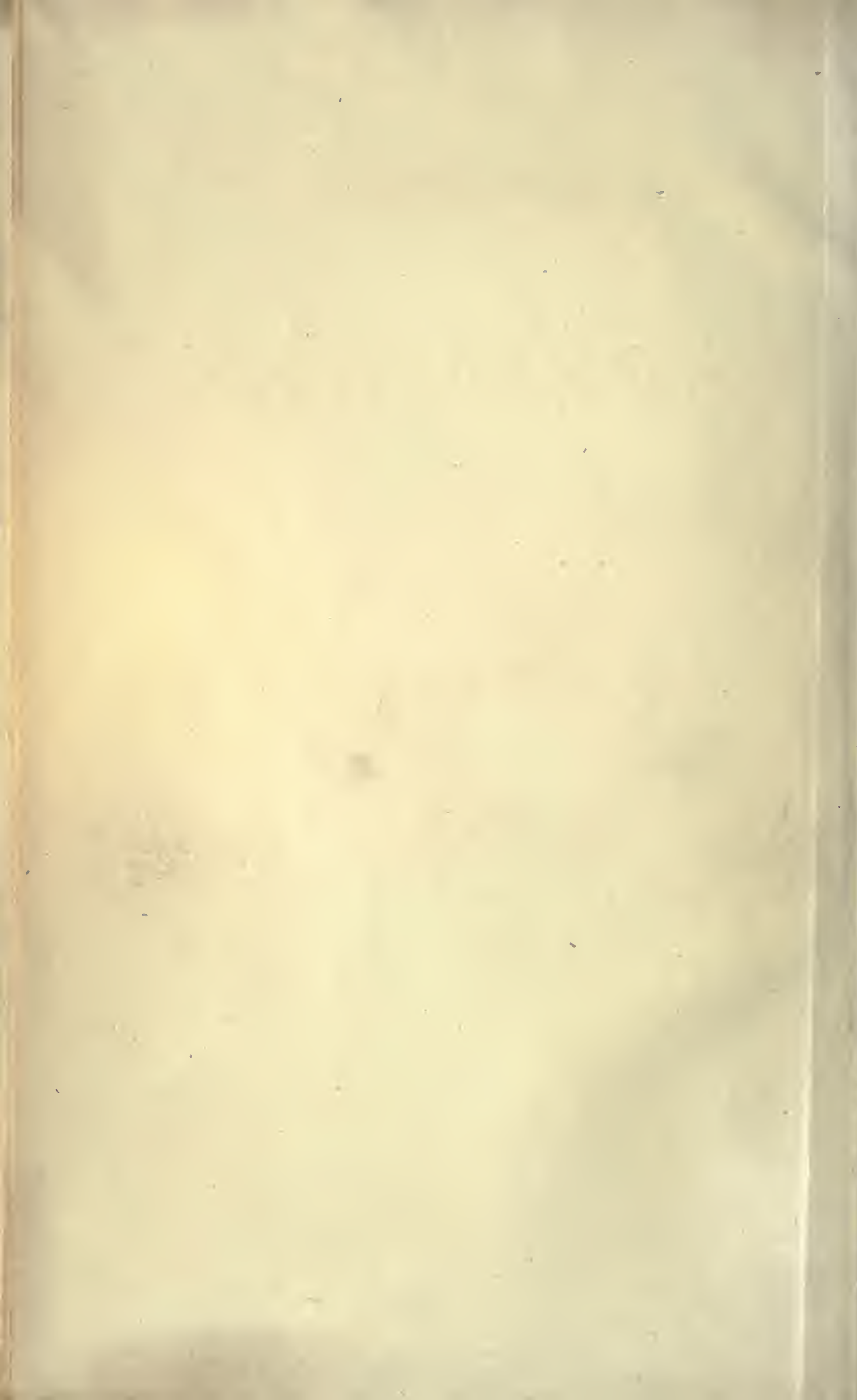

MR. WEBSTER'S

SPEECHES

AT

BUFFALO, SYRACUSE, AND ALBANY,

MAY, 1851.

MIRROR OFFICE,
NEW-YORK.

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Mr. Webster visited New York, in company with the President of the United States, and several Members of the Cabinet, to join in celebrating the completion of the New York and Erie Rail Road. The distinguished party were received along the entire route with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect; and were called upon everywhere to address the assembled multitudes. At Buffalo, the citizens united, without distinction of party, in tendering a public Dinner to Mr. Webster, also inviting him to address the masses in the Park. Similar invitations were extended to him by the people of Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and every other city through which he passed.

As the Speeches delivered on these occasions were but partially and imperfectly reported, Mr. Webster, in compliance with the wishes of his friends, has corrected the Speeches embraced in the following pages; and they are now entitled to public confidence, and commended to a careful perusal, as containing the deliberate sentiments, familiarly expressed, of the Great Expounder and Defender of the Constitution.

Mirror Office, New York, June 9th, 1851

SPEECHES

OF

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,

AT

BUFFALO, SYRACUSE, & ALBANY,

MAY, 1851.

SPEECH AT BUFFALO.

Fellow-Citizens of the city of Buffalo, I am very glad to see you; I meet you with pleasure. It is not the first time, fellow-citizens, that I have been in Buffalo; and I have always come to it with gratification. It is a great distance from my own home. I am thankful that circumstances have enabled me to be here again, and I regret that untoward events deprived me of the pleasure of being with you when your distinguished fellow-citizen, the President of the United States, visited you, and received from you, as he deserved, not only a respectful, but a cordial and enthusiastic welcome. The President of the United States has been a resident among you for more than half his life. He has represented you in the State and National Councils. You know him and all his relations, both public and private, and it would be bad taste in me to say anything of him, except that I wish to say, with emphasis, that since my connection with him in the administration of the government of the United States, I have fully concurred with him in all his great and leading measures. This might be inferred from the fact that I have been one of his ordinary advisers. But I do not wish to let it rest on that presumption; I wish to declare that the principles of the President, a sset forth in his annual message, his letters, and all documents and opinions which have proceeded from him, or been issued by his authority, in regard to the great question of the times; all these principles are my principles; and if he is wrong in them, I am, (applause) and always shall be. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, it has been suggested that it would be pleasant and agreeable to the citizens of Buffalo, and their neighbors in the county of Erie, that I should state to you my opinions, such as they are, on the present condition of the country, its prospects, its hopes, and its dangers; and, fellow-citizens, I intend to do that, this day, and this hour, as far as my strength will permit.

Gentlemen, believe me, I know where I am. I know to whom I am speaking. I know for whom I am speaking. I know I am here in this singularly prosperous and powerful section of the United States, Western New York, and I know the character of the men who constitute Western New York. I know they are sons of liberty, one and all; that they sucked in liberty with their mothers' milk; inherited it with their blood; that it is the subject of their daily contemplation and watchful thought. They are men of a very singular equality of condition, for a million and a half of people. There are thousands of men around us, and here before us, who till their own soils with their own hands; and others who earn their own livelihood by their own labor in the workshops, and other places of industry; and they are independent, in principle and in condition, having neither slaves nor masters, and not intending to have either. These are the men who constitute, to a great extent, the people of Western New York. But the school-houses I know are among them. Education is among them. They read, and write, and think. And here are women, educated, refined, and intelligent; and here are men who know the history of their country, and the laws of their country, and the institutions of their country; and men, lovers of liberty always, and yet lovers of liberty under the Constitution of the country, and who mean to maintain that Constitution with all their strength, so help them God. (Great applause.) I hope these observations will satisfy you that I know where I am, under what responsibility I speak, and before whom I appear; and I have no desire that any word I shall say this day, shall be withholden from you, or your children, or your neighbors, or the whole world; for I speak before you and before my country, and, if it be not too solemn to say so, before the great Author of all things.

Gentlemen, there is but one question in this country now; or if there be others, the others are but secondary, or so subordinate, that they are all absorbed in that great and leading question; and that is neither more nor less than this: Can we preserve the union of the States, not by coercion, not by military power, not by angry controversies; but can we of this generation, you and I, your friends and my friends, can we so preserve the union of these States, by such administration of the powers of the Constitution, as shall give content and satisfaction to all who live under it, and draw us together, not by military power, but by the silken cords of mutual, fraternal, patriotic affection? That is the question, and no other. Gentlemen, I believe in party distinctions. I am a party man. There are questions belonging to party, in which I am concerned, and there are opinions entertained by other parties, which I repudiate; but what of all that? If a house be divided against itself, it will fall, and crush everybody in it. We must see that we maintain the government which is over us. We must see that we uphold the Constitution, and we must do so without regard to party. Now, how did this question arise? The question is forever mis-stated. I dare say if you know much of me, or of my course of public conduct, for the last fourteen months, you have heard of my attending Union meetings, and of my fervent admonitions at Union meetings. Well, what was the object of those meetings? What was their purpose? The object and purpose have been designedly or thoughtlessly misrepresented. I had an invitation to attend a Union meeting in the county of Westchester; I could not go, but wrote a letter. Well, some wise man of the east said he did

not think it was very necessary to hold Union meetings in Westchester. He did not think there were many disunionists about Tarrytown! And so in many parts of New York, there is a total misapprehension of the purpose and object of these Union meetings. Every one knows, there is not a county, or a city, or a hamlet in the State of New York, that is ready to go out of the Union, except some small bodies of fanatics. There is no man so insane in the whole State, outside a lunatic asylum, as to wish it. But that is not the point. We all know that every man and every neighborhood, and all corporations, in the State of New York are attached to the Union, and have no idea of withdrawing from it, except those I have mentioned. But that is not, I repeat, the point; that is not the point. The question, fellow-citizens, (and I put it to you now as the real question,) the question is, Whether you and the rest of the people of the great State of New York, and of all the States, will so adhere to the Constitution, will so enact and maintain laws to preserve that instrument, that you will not only remain in the Union yourselves, but permit your brethren to remain in it, and help to perpetuate it? That is the question. Will you concur in measures necessary to maintain the Union? or will you oppose such measures? That is the whole point of the case.

You have thirty or forty members of Congress from New York; you have your proportion in the United States Senate. We have many members of Congress from New England. Will they maintain the laws that are passed for the administration of the Constitution, and respect the rights of the South, so that the Union may be held together; and not only that we may not go out of it ourselves, which we are not inclined to do, but that by asserting and maintaining the rights of others, they may also remain in the Union? Now, gentlemen, permit me to say, that I speak of no concessions. If the South wish any concession from me, they will not get it; not a hair's breadth of it. If they come to my house for it, they will not find it, and the door will be shut: I concede nothing. But I say that I will maintain for them, as I will maintain for you, to the utmost of my power, and in the face of all danger; their rights under the Constitution, and your rights under the Constitution. (Cries of "Good, Good," &c.) And I shall never be found to falter in one or the other. (Tremendous applause.) It is obvious to every one, and we all know it, that the origin of the great disturbance which agitates the country, is the existence of slavery in some of the States; but we must meet that subject; we must consider it; we must deal with it, earnestly, honestly, and justly. From the mouth of the St. Johns to the confines of Florida, there existed in the year of grace, seventeen hundred and seventy-five, thirteen colonies of English origin, planted at different times, and coming from different parts of England, bringing with them various habits, and establishing, each for itself, institutions entirely different from the institutions which they left, and in many cases from each other. But they were all of English origin. The English language was theirs; Shakspeare and Milton were theirs, and the Christian religion was theirs; and these things held them together by the force of a common character. The aggressions of the parent State compelled them to set up for independence. They declared independence, and that immortal act, pronounced on the fourth of July, seventeen hundred and seventy-six, made them independent. That was an act of union by the United States in Congress assembled. But this act of itself did

nothing to establish over them a general government. They had a Congress. They had articles of confederation to prosecute the war. But thus far they were still, essentially, separate and independent, each of the other. They had entered into a simple confederacy, and nothing more. No State was bound by what it did not itself agree to, or what was done according to the provisions of the Confederation. That was the state of things, gentlemen, at that time. The war went on; victory perched on the American eagle; our independence was acknowledged. The States were then united together under a confederacy of very limited powers. It could levy no taxes. It could not enforce its own decrees. It was a confederacy, instead of a united government. Experience showed that this was insufficient and inefficient. And, therefore, beginning as far back almost as the close of the war, measures were taken for the formation of a united government, a government in the strict sense of the term, a government that could pass laws binding on the citizens of all the States, and which could enforce those laws by its executive powers, having them interpreted by a judicial power belonging to the Government itself, and yet, a Government of strictly limited powers. Well, gentlemen, this led to the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and that instrument was framed on the idea of a limited Government. It proposed to leave, and did leave, the different domestic institutions of the several States to themselves. It did not propose consolidation. It did not propose that the laws of Virginia should be the laws of New York, or that the laws of New York should be the laws of Massachusetts. It proposed only that, for certain purposes, and to a certain extent, there should be a united Government, and that that Government should have the power of executing its own laws. All the rest was left to the several States. And we now come, gentlemen, to the very point of the case. At that time slavery existed in the Southern States, entailed upon them in the time of the supremacy of British laws over us. There it was. It was obnoxious to the Middle and Eastern States, and honestly and seriously disliked, as the records of the country will show, by the Southern States themselves. Now, how were they to deal with it? Were the Northern and Middle States to exclude from the Government those States of the South which had produced a Washington, a Laurens, and other distinguished patriots, who had so truly served, and so greatly honored, the whole country? Were they to be excluded from the new Government because they tolerated the institution of Slavery? Your fathers, and my fathers did not think so. They did not see that it would be of the least advantage to the slaves of the Southern States, to cut off the South from all connection with the North. Their views of humanity led to no such result; and, of course, when the Constitution was framed and established, and adopted by you, here in New York, and by New England, it contained an express provision of security to the persons who lived in the Southern States, in regard to fugitives who owed them service; that is to say, the fugitive from service or labor, it was stipulated, should be restored to his master or owner if he escaped into a free State. Well, that had been the history of the country from its first settlement. It was a matter of common practice to return fugitives before the Constitution was formed. Fugitive slaves from Virginia to Massachusetts were restored by the people of Massachusetts. At that day there was a great system of apprenticeship at

the North, and many apprentices at the North, taking advantage of circumstances, and of vessels sailing to the South, thereby escaped; and they were restored on proper claim and proof. That led to a clear, express, and well-defined provision in the Constitution of the country on the subject. Now, I know that all these things are common; that they have been stated a thousand times; but in these days of perpetual discontent and misrepresentation, to state things a thousand times is not enough; for there are more than a thousand persons, whose consciences, one would think, lead them to make it a duty to deny, misrepresent, falsify, and cover up truths.

Now here is the Constitution, fellow-citizens, and I have taken the pains to transcribe therefrom these words, so that he who runs may read:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Is there any mistake about that? Is there any forty shilling attorney here to make a question of it? No. I will not disgrace my profession by supposing such a thing. There is not in or out of an attorney's office in the county of Erie, or elsewhere, one who could raise a doubt, or a particle of a doubt, about the meaning of this provision of the Constitution. He may act as witnesses do, sometimes, on the stand. He may wriggle and twist, and say he cannot tell, or cannot remember. I have seen many such exhibitions in my time, on the part of witnesses, to falsify and deny the truth. But there is no man who can read these words of the Constitution of the United States, and say they are not clear and imperative. "No person," the constitution says, "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Why, you are told by forty conventions in Massachusetts, in Ohio, in New York, in Syracuse, and elsewhere, that if a colored man comes here, he comes as a freeman; that is a *non sequitur*. It is not so. If he comes as a fugitive from labor, the Constitution says he is not a freeman, and that he shall be delivered up to those who are entitled to his service. Now, gentlemen, that is the Constitution of the United States. Gentlemen, do we, or do we not, mean to conform to it, and to execute that part of the Constitution as well as the rest of it? I suppose there are before me here members of Congress. I suppose there are here members of the State Legislature, or executive officers under the State government. I suppose there are judicial magistrates of New York, executive officers, assessors, supervisors, justices of the peace, and constables, before me. Allow me to say, gentlemen, that there is not, that there cannot be, any one of these officers in this assemblage, or elsewhere, who has not, according to the form of his usual obligation, bound himself by a solemn oath, before God, to support the Constitution. They have taken their oaths on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, or by uplifted hand, as the case may be, or by a solemn affirmation, as is the practice in some cases. But among all of them, there is not a man who holds, nor is there any man who can hold, any office in the gift of the United States

or in this State, or in any other State, who does not become bound, by the solemn obligation of an oath, that he will support the Constitution of the United States. Well, is he to tamper with that? Is he to falter? Gentlemen, our political duties are as much matters of conscience as any other duties; our sacred domestic ties, our most endearing social relations, are no more the subject for conscientious consideration and conscientious discharge, than the duties we enter upon under the Constitution of the United States. The bonds of political brotherhood, are the bonds which hold us together from Maine to Georgia.

Now, gentlemen, that is the plain story of the Constitution of the United States, on the question of slavery. Gentlemen, I contend, and have always contended, that after the adoption or the Constitution, any measure of the Government calculated to bring more slave territory into the United States, was beyond the power of the Constitution, and against its provisions. That is my opinion, and it always has been my opinion. It was inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, or thought to be so, in Jefferson's time, to attach Louisiana to the United States. A treaty with France was made for that purpose. But Jefferson's opinion at that moment was, that an alteration of the Constitution was necessary to enable it to be done. In consequence of considerations, which I need not now recur to, that opinion was abandoned, and Louisiana was admitted by law, without any provision or alteration in the Constitution. At that time, I was too young to hold any office, or take any share in the political affairs of the country. Louisiana was admitted as a slave State, and became entitled to her representation in Congress on the principle of a mixed basis. Florida was afterwards admitted. Then too, I was out of Congress; I had been in it once; but I had nothing to do with the Florida treaty, or the admission of Florida. My opinion remains unchanged, that it was not within the original scope or design of the Constitution to admit new States out of foreign territory; and that for one, I never would consent; and no matter what may be said at the Syracuse convention, or at any other assemblage of insane persons, I never would consent, and never have consented, that there should be one foot of slave territory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the time of the formation of the Union. Never, never. The man cannot show his face to me and say he can prove that I ever departed from that doctrine. He would sneak away, and slink away, or hire a mercenary Press, that he might cry out what an apostate from liberty Daniel Webster has become. (Laughter and cheers.) He knows himself to be a hypocrite and a falsifier. But, gentlemen, I was in public life when the proposition to annex Texas to the United States was brought forward. You know the revolution in Texas, which divided that country from Mexico, occurred in the year 1835 or '36. I saw then, and I do not know that it required any particular foresight, that it would be the very next thing to bring Texas, which was designed to be a slaveholding State, into this Union. I did not wait. I sought an occasion to proclaim my utter aversion to any such measure, and I determined to resist it with all my strength to the last. Now, gentlemen, it is not for your edification, I am sure, that I now revive what I have before spoken in the presence of this assembly. I was in this city in the year 1837, and long before I left New York on that excursion, in the course of which I went to the South and returned

here, my friends in New York were kind enough to offer me a public dinner as a testimony of their public regard. I went out of my way, on that occasion, for the purpose of showing what I anticipated in the attempt to annex Texas as a slave territory, and said it should be opposed by me to the last extremity. And in Niblo's Garden, in March, 1837, I made a speech. Well, there was the press all around me. The whig press and the democratic press. Some spoke in terms commendatory enough of my speech, but all agreed that I took pains to step out of my way to denounce in advance the annexation of Texas as slave territory to the United States. I said on that occasion:

"Gentlemen, we all see that, by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slaveholding country; and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do anything that shall extend the slavery of the African on this continent, or add other slaveholding States to the Union. When I said that I regarded slavery as a great moral and political evil, I only used language that has been adopted by distinguished men, themselves citizens of slaveholding States. I shall do nothing, therefore, to extend or encourage its further extension. We have slavery already amongst us. The Constitution found it amongst us. It recognized it, and gave it solemn guarantees. To the full extent of these guarantees we are all bound in honor, in justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution, in favor of the slaveholding States which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and, so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fullness of their spirit, and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress. It is the concern of the States themselves. They have never submitted it to Congress, and Congress has no right or power over it. I shall concur, therefore, in no act, no measure, no menace, no indication or purpose, which shall interfere, or threaten to interfere, with the exclusive authority of the several States over the subject of slavery, as it exists within their respective limits. All this appears to me to be a matter of plain and imperative duty. But when we come to speak of admitting new States, the subject assumes a new and entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different. The free States and all the States are then at liberty to accept or reject. When it is proposed to bring new members into the political partnership, the old members have a right to say on what terms such partners are to come in, and what they are to bring along with them. In my opinion, the people of the United States will not consent to bring in a new, vastly extensive, and slaveholding country, large enough for half a dozen or a dozen States, into the Union. In my opinion, they ought not to consent to it."

Gentlemen, I was mistaken; Congress did consent to the bringing in of Texas. They did consent, and I was a false prophet. Your own State consented, and the majority of the representatives of New York consented. I went into Congress before the final consummation of the deed, and there I fought, holding up both my hands, and proclaiming, with a voice stronger than it now is, my remonstrances against the whole of it. But you would have it so, and you did have it so. Nay, gentlemen, I will tell the truth, whether it shames the devil or not. (Laughter.) Persons who have aspired high as lovers of liberty, as eminent lovers of the Wilmot Proviso, as eminent Free-soil men, and who have mounted over our heads, and trodden

us down as if we were mere slaves, they are the men, the very men, that brought Texas into this country, insisting that they are the only true lovers of liberty; and yet that is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and I declare it before you, this day. Look to the journals. Without the consent of New York, Texas would not have come into the Union, under either the original resolutions or afterwards. But New York voted for the measure. The two Senators from New York voted for it, and turned the question, and you may thank them for the glory, the renown, and the happiness of having five or six slave States added to the Union. (Great sensation.) Do not blame me for it. Let them answer who did the deed, and who are now proclaiming liberty, crying up their free-soil creed, and using it for humbug and trading purposes.

Gentlemen, who aided in bringing in Texas? It was all fairly told to you, both beforehand, and afterwards. You heard Moses and the prophets, (laughter,) but if one had risen from the dead, such was your devotion to that policy, at that time, that you would not have heard him, or listened to him for a moment. I do not, of course, speak of the persons now here before me, but of the general political tone in New York, and especially of those who are now free-soil apostles. Well, all that I do not complain of, but I will not now, or hereafter, before the country, or the world, consent to be numbered among those who introduced new slave power into the Union. I did all in my power to prevent it. (Applause.) Then again, gentlemen, the Mexican war broke out. Vast territory was acquired, and the peace was made; and, much as I disliked the war, I disliked the peace more, because it brought in these territories. I wished for peace indeed, but I desired to strike out the grant of territory on the one side, and the payment of the $12,000,000 on the other. That territory was unknown. I did not know what it might be. The plan came from the South. I knew that certain Southern gentlemen wished the acquisition of California New Mexico, and Utah, as a means of extending slave power and slave population; almost everything was unknown about the country. I did not fall into their idea much; but seeing a quarrel, and as I conceived, seeing how much it would distract the Union, I voted against the peace with Mexico. I voted against the acquisition. I wanted none of her territory, California, New Mexico, nor Utah. They were rather ultra-American, as I thought. They were far from us, and I saw that they might lead to a political disturbance, and I voted against them all, against the treaty and against the peace, and I am glad of it, rather than have the territories. Seeing that it would be an occasion of dispute, that by the controversy the whole Union would be agitated, Messrs. Berrien, Badger, and other respectable and distinguished men of the South, voted against the acquisition, and the treaty which secured it; and if the men of the North had voted the same way, we should have been spared all the difficulties that have grown out of it. We should have had the peace, without the territories. (Applause.) Now, there is no sort of doubt, gentlemen, that there were some persons in the South who supposed that California, if it came in at all, would come in as a slave State. You know the extraordinary events which immediately occurred. You know that California received a rush from the Northern people, and that an African slave could no more live there than he could live on the top of Mount Hecla. Of necessity it became a free State, and that, no doubt, was a source of much

disappointment to the South. And then there was New Mexico and Utah; what was to be done with them? Why, gentlemen, from the best investigation I had given the subject, and the reflection I had devoted to it, I was of the opinion that the mountains of New Mexico and Utah could no more sustain American slavery than the snows of Canada. I saw it was impossible. I thought so then; it is quite evident now. Therefore, gentlemen, when it was proposed in Congress to apply the Wilmot Proviso to New Mexico and Utah, it appeared to me just as absurd as to apply it here in Western New-York. I saw that the snow hills, the eternal mountains, and the climate of those countries, would never support slavery. No man could carry a slave there with any expectation of profit. It could not be done; and as the South regarded the Proviso as merely a source of irritation, and by some as designed to irritate, I was not willing to adopt it, and, therefore, I saw no occasion for applying the Wilmot Proviso to New Mexico or Utah. I voted accordingly, and who doubts now the correctness of that vote? The law admitting those territories passed without any proviso. Is there a slave, or will there ever be one, in either of those territories? Why, there is not a man in the United States so stupid as not to see at this moment, that such a thing was wholly unnecessary, and that it was only calculated to irritate and to offend. And I am not one who is disposed to create irritation, or give offence to our brothers, or to break up fraternal friendship, without cause. The question was open whether slavery should or should not go to New Mexico or Utah. There is no slavery there, there is not the shining face of an African there. It is utterly impracticable, and utterly ridiculous to suppose that slavery could exist there, and no one, who does not mean to deceive, will now pretend it can exist there.

Well, gentlemen, we have a race of agitators all over the country, some connected with the press; some, I am sorry to say, connected with the learned professions. They agitate; their livelihood consists in agitating; their freehold, their copyhold, their capital, their all in all, depend on the excitement of the public mind. Gentlemen, these things were going on at the commencement of the year 1850. There were two great questions before the public. There was the question of the Texan boundary, and of a government for Utah and New Mexico, which I consider as one question; and there was the question of making a provision for the restoration of fugitive slaves. Gentlemen, on these subjects, I have something to say. Texas, as you know, established her independence of Mexico, by her revolution and the battle of San Jacinto, which made her a sovereign power. I have already stated to you, what I then anticipated from the movement, that she would ask to come into the Union as a slave State. We admitted her in 1845, and we admitted her as a slave State. We admitted her in 1845, and we admitted her with an undefined boundary; remember that. She claimed by conquest all that territory which was commonly called New Mexico, East of the Rio Grande. She claimed also those limits which her Constitution had declared and established as the proper limits of Texas. This was her claim, and when she was admitted into the United States, the United States did not define her territory. They admitted her as she was. We took her as she defined her own limits, and with the power of making four additional slave States. I say "we," but I do not mean that I was one; I mean the United States admitted her. Now,

to judge fairly, let us go back to 1850. What was the state of things in 1850? There was Texas claiming all, or a great part of that, which the United States had acquired from Mexico as New Mexico. She stated that it belonged to her by conquest and by her admission into the United States, and she was ready to maintain her claims by force of arms. Recollect that is not all. A man must be ignorant of the history of the country who does not know, that at the commencement of 1850 there was a great agitation throughout the whole South. Who does not know that six or seven of the largest States of the South had already taken measures for separation; were preparing for disunion in some way? They concurred, apparently, at least some of them, with Texas, while Texas was prepared or preparing to enforce her rights by force of arms. Troops were enlisted, and do not you remember, gentlemen, at this time, and in this state of things, how many thousand persons in the South were disaffected towards the Union, or were desirous for breaking it up, or were ready to join Texas; to join her ranks, and see what they could make, in a war to establish the rights of Texas to New Mexico? The public mind was disturbed. There were thousands and thousands ready to join Texas. Now, a great part of the South at this time was disaffected towards the Union. These very men were in a condition to fall into any course of things that should be violent and destructive. Well then, gentlemen, what was to be done let me ask again, as far as Texas was concerned? Allow me to say, gentlemen, there are two sorts of foresight. There is a military foresight, which sees what will be the result of an appeal to arms; and there is also a statesmanlike foresight, which looks not to the result of battles and carnage, but to the results of political disturbances, the violence of faction carried into military operations, and the horrors attendant on civil war.

I never had a doubt, gentlemen, that if the administration of General Taylor had gone to war, and had sent troops into New Mexico, that he would have whipped the Texas forces in a week. The power on one side was far superior to all the power on the other. But what then? What if Texan troops, assisted by thousands of volunteers, from the disaffected States, had gone to New Mexico, and had been defeated and turned back, would that have settled the boundary question? Now, gentlemen, I wish I had ten thousand voices. I wish I could draw around me the whole people of the United States, and I wish I could make them all hear what I now declare on my own conscience, before the Power who sits on high, and who will judge you and me hereafter, as my solemn belief, that if this Texas controversy had not been settled by Congress in the manner called the adjustment measures, civil war would have ensued; blood, American blood, would have been shed; and who can tell what else would have been the consequence? Gentlemen, in an honorable war, if a foreign foe invade us, if our rights were threatened, if it were necessary to defend them by arms, I am not afraid of blood. And, if I am too old myself, I hope there are those connected with me who are young, and willing to defend their country to the last drop of their own blood. (Sensation.) But I cannot express the horror I feel at the shedding of blood in a controversy between one of these States and the government of the United States, because I see in it, in the sight of Heaven, a total and entire disruption of all those ties that make us a great and a happy people.

Gentlemen, that was the great question, the leading question, at the

commencement of the year 1850. Then there was the other, and that was the matter of the Fugitive Slave Law. Let me say a word about that. Under the provisions of the Constitution in General Washington's administration, in the year 1793, there was passed a law for the restoration of fugitive slaves, by general consent. Hardly any one opposed it at that period; it was thought to be necessary, in order to carry the Constitution into effect: the great men of New England and New York all concurred in it. It passed, and answered all the purposes expected from it till about the year 1841 or 1842, when the States interfered to make enactments in opposition to it. The law of Congress said that State magistrates might execute the duties of the law. Some of the States passed enactments imposing a penalty on any who exercised authority under the law, or assisted in its execution; others denied the use of their jails to carry the law into effect; and, generally, at the commencement of the year 1850, it was absolutely, I say it was absolutely, indispensable that Congress should pass some law for the execution of this provision of the Constitution, or else give up that provision entirely. That was the question. I was in Congress when the subject was proposed. I was for a proper law. I had, indeed, proposed a different law; I was of opinion that a summary trial by a jury might be had, which would satisfy the prejudices of the people, and produce no harm to those who claimed the service of fugitives; but I left the Senate, and went to another station, before the law was passed. The law of 1850 passed. Now I undertake, as a lawyer, and on my professional character, to say to you and to all, that the law of 1850 is decidedly more favorable to the fugitive than General Washington's law of 1793; and I tell you why. In the first place, the present law places the power in much higher hands; in the hands of independent judges of the Supreme, and Circuit Courts, and District Courts, and Commissioners who are appointed to office for their law learning. Every fugitive is brought before a tribunal of high character, of eminent ability, of respectable station. Well, then, in the second place, when a claimant comes from Virginia to New York, to say that one A or one B has run away, or is a fugitive from service, or labor, he brings with him a record of the county from which he comes, and that record must be sworn to before a magistrate, and certified by the county clerk, and bear an official seal. The affidavit must state that A or B (as the case may be) had departed under such and such circumstances, and had gone to another State; and that record, under seal is, by the Constitution of the United States, entitled to full credit in every State. Well, the claimant or his agent comes here, and he presents to you the seal of the courts of Virginia, that A or B had escaped from service. He must prove that he is here. He brings a witness, and asks if this is the man, and he proves it; or, in ten cases out of eleven, the answer would be, "Yes, massa, I am your slave; I did escape from your service."

Such is the present law; and, as much opposed and maligned as it is, it is a more favorable law to the fugitive slave than the law enacted in Washington's time, in 1793, which was sanctioned by the North as well as by the South. The existing, violent, and unceasing opposition, has sprung up in modern times. From whom does this clamor come? Why, look at the proceedings of the Anti-slavery conventions; look at their resolu-

tions. Do you find among all those persons who oppose this Fugitive Slave law, any admission, whatever, that any law ought to be passed to carry into effect the solemn stipulations of the Constitution? Tell me any such case; tell me if any resolution was passed by the Convention at Syracuse, favoring the carrying out of the Constitution? Not one! The fact is, gentlemen, they oppose the whole! they oppose the whole! Not a man of them admits that there ought to be any law on the subject. They deny, altogether, that the provisions of the Constitution ought to be carried into effect. Well, what do they say? Look at the proceedings of the Anti-slavery conventions in Ohio, Massachusetts, and at Syracuse, in the State of New York. What do they say? "That, so help them God, no colored man shall be sent from the State of New York, back to his master in Virginia!" Do not they say that? and, for the fulfillment of that, they "pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor." (Laughter.) Their sacred honor!! (Laughter.) They pledge their sacred honor to violate the laws of their country; they pledge their sacred honor to resist their execution; they pledge their sacred honor to commit treason against the laws of their country!

I have already stated, gentlemen, what your observation of these things must have taught you. I will only recur to the subject for a moment, for the purpose of persuading you, as public men and private men, as good men and patriotic men, that you ought, to the extent of your ability and influence, to see to it, that such laws are established and maintained as shall keep you, and the South, and the West, and all the country together, as far as it is just and right, and as far as the Constitution demands. I say, that what is demanded of us is, to be up to our constitutional duties, and to do for the South what the South have a right to demand.

Gentlemen, I have been some time before the public. My character is known, my life is before the country. I profess to love liberty as much as any man living; but I profess to love American liberty, that liberty which is secured to the country by the Constitution under which we live; and I have no great opinion of that other and higher liberty which goes over the restraints of law and of the Constitution. I hold the Constitution of the United States to be the bulwark, the only bulwark, of our liberties and of our national charter. I do not mean that you should become slaves under the Constitution. That is not American liberty. That is not the liberty of the Union for which our fathers fought, that liberty which has given us a right to be known and respected all over the world. I mean only to say, that I am for Constitutional Liberty. It is enough for me to be as free as the Constitution of the country makes me.

Now, gentlemen, let me say, that, as much as I respect the character of the people of Western New York, as much as I wish to retain your good opinion, if you should ever place me, hereafter, in any connection with public life, let me tell you now that you must not expect from me the slightest variation, even of a hair's breadth, from the Constitution of the United States. (Cries of "Good, good, good") I am a Northern man. I was born at the North, educated at the North, have lived all my days at the North. I know five hundred Northern men to one Southern man. My sympathies, all my sympathies, my love of liberty for all mankind, of every color, are the same as yours. My affections and hopes in that respect are exactly like yours. I wish to see all men free, all men happy. I have few

personal associations out of the Northern States. My people are your people. And yet I am told sometimes that I am not a liberty man, because I am not a Free-soil man. (Laughter.) What am I? What was I ever? What shall I be hereafter, if I could sacrifice, for any consideration, that love of American liberty which has glowed in my breast since my infancy, and which, I hope, will never leave me till I expire? (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I regret that slavery exists in the Southern States, but it is clear and certain, that Congress has no power over it. It may be, however, that in the dispensations of Providence, some remedy for this evil may occur, or may be hoped for hereafter. But, in the meantime, I hold on to the Constitution of the United States, and you need never expect from me, under any circumstances, that I shall falter from it; that I shall be otherwise than frank and decisive. I would not part with my character as a man of firmness and decision, and honor and principle, for all that the world possesses. You will find me true to the North, because all my sympathies are with the North. My affections, my children, my hopes, my everything, are with the North. But when I stand up before my country, as one appointed to administer the Constitution of the country, by the blessing of God I will be just. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, I expect to be libeled and abused. Yes! libeled and abused. But it don't disturb me. I have not lost a night's rest for a great many years from any such cause. I have some talent for sleeping. (Laughter.) And why should I not expect to be libeled? Is not the Constitution of the United States libeled and abused? Do not some people call it the production of hell? Is not Washington libeled and abused? Is he not called a bloodhound on the track of the African negro? Are not our fathers libeled and abused by their own children? And ungrateful children they are. How, then, shall I escape? I do not expect to escape; but, knowing these things, I impute no bad motive to any men of character and fair standing. The great settlement measures of the last Congress are laws. Many respectable men, representatives from your own State and from other States, did not concur in them. I do not impute any bad motive to them. I am ready to believe they are Americans all. They may not have thought them necessary; or they may have thought these laws would be enacted without their concurrence. Let all that pass away. If they are now men who will stand by what is done, and stand up for their country, and say that these laws were passed by a majority of the whole country, and we must stand by them and live by them, I will respect them all as friends.

Now, gentlemen, allow me to ask of you, to-day, What do you think would have been the condition of the country, at this time, if these laws had not been passed by the last Congress? If the question of the Texas boundary had not been settled? New Mexico and Utah had been left as desert places, and no government had been provided for them? And if the other great questions to which State laws had opposed so many obstacles, in the restoration of fugitives, had not been settled, I ask what would have been the state of this country now? You men of Erie county, you men of New York, I conjure you to go home to-night and meditate on this subject. What would have been the state of this country, now at this moment, if these laws had not been passed? I have given my opinion that we should have had a civil war. I refer it to you, therefore,

for your consideration; meditate on it; do not be carried away by any notions or ideas of metaphysics; think practically on the great question of what would have been the condition of the United States at this moment, if we had not settled these agitating questions. I have stated that, in my opinion, there would have been a civil war.

Gentlemen, will you allow me, for a moment, to advert to myself? I have been a long time in public life, of course not many years remain to me. At the commencement of 1850, I saw something of the condition of the country, and I thought the inevitable consequence would be civil war. I saw danger in leaving Utah and New Mexico without any government, a prey to the power of Texas. I saw the condition of things arising from the interference of some of the States in defeating the operation of the Constitution in respect to the restoration of fugitive slaves. And, gentlemen, I made up my mind to encounter whatever might betide me; and, allow me to say, something which is not entirely unworthy of notice. A member of the House of Representatives told me that he had made a list of 140 speeches which had been made in Congress on the slavery question. "That is a very large number, my friend," I said; "but how is that?" "Why," said he, "a Northern man gets up and speaks with considerable power and fluency until the Speaker's hammer knocks him down. Then gets up a Southern man, and he speaks with more warmth. He is nearer the sun, and he comes out against the North. He speaks his hour, and is in turn, knocked down. And so it has gone on until I have got 140 speeches on my list." "Well," said I, "where are they? and what are they?" "If the speaker," said he, "was a Northern man, he held forth against slavery; and if he was from the South, he abused the North; and all those speeches were sent by the members to their own localities, where they were the cause of the local irritation which existed at the time. No man read both sides. In this way the other side of the question was not heard; no man read both sides." I thought that in this state of things something was to be done. You cannot suppose that I was indifferent to the danger. I am a Massachusetts man, and know what Massachusetts used to be. I am a Massachusetts man. Massachusetts has kept me a great while in Congress. I will honor her; I respect her, and mean to do so as long as I live. (Applause.)

Well, gentlemen, suppose that on that occasion I had taken a different course from what I did take? If I may allude to anything so insignificant as myself, suppose that, on the 7th of March, instead of making a speech that would, as far as my power went, reconcile the country, I had joined in the general clamor of the party? Suppose I had said, "I will have nothing to do with any accommodation; we will admit no satisfaction; we will let Texas invade New Mexico; we will leave New Mexico and Utah to take care of themselves, and we will plant ourselves on the Wilmot Proviso, and let the devil take the hindermost?" Now, gentlemen, I don't mean to say that great consequences would have followed from that; but suppose I had taken such a course? How could I be blamed for it? Was I not a Massachusetts man? Did I not know Massachusetts sentiments and prejudices? But what of that? I am an American! (Great applause.) I was made a whole man, and I don't mean to make myself half a one. (Tremendous outbursts of applause.) I felt I had a duty to perform to my country, to my own reputation; for I flattered myself

that a service of forty years had given me some character. I thought it was my duty, and I did not care what was to be the consequence; I felt it was my duty to come out, to go for my country, and my whole country, and to exert any power I had to keep that country together. (Great applause.) I cared for nothing, I was afraid of nothing, but meant to do my duty. Duty performed makes a man happy; duty neglected makes a man unhappy. I therefore, gentlemen, in the face of all circumstances, and all dangers, was ready to go forth and do what I thought my country, your country, demanded of me. And, gentlemen, allow me to say here, to-day, that if the fate of John Rogers had been presented to me; if I had seen the stake; if I had heard the thorns already crackling; by the blessing of Almighty God, I would have gone on, and discharged the duty which I thought my country called upon me to perform. I would have become a martyr to save that country.

And now, gentlemen, farewell. Live and be happy. Live like patriots. Live like Americans. Live in the enjoyment of the inestimable blessings which your fathers prepared for you; and if anything that I may do hereafter should be inconsistent, in the slightest degree, with the opinions and principles which I have this day addressed to you, then discard me forever from your recollection.

MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH

AT

THE DINNER GIVEN HIM AT BUFFALO.

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens of the city of Buffalo, I know that, in regard to the present condition of the country, you think as I think, that there is but one all-absorbing question, and that is the preservation of this Union. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen: If I have strength, I propose to say something to you and your fellow-citizens on that subject to-morrow. (Outbursts of applause for some time.) In this social interview and intercourse, gentlemen, I would not willingly aspire to such a lofty, all-important theme. I desire, rather, on this occasion, to address you as citizens of Buffalo, many of whom I have had the pleasure of seeing in former times, many of whom belong to the generation, which has grown up since I was first here; but with all of whom I feel a sympathy for the great prosperity which has distinguished their city, and the fair prospect which Providence holds out before them. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have had the pleasure of being in the good city of Buffalo three times before this visit. I came here in 1825, with my family, accompanied by Justice Story and his family. We came mainly to see that all-attractive neighbor of yours, the Falls of Niagara. For, gentlemen, you and your posterity will never be without a distinguished neighbor in your vicinity. We came to Buffalo. I remember it was said, at that time, there were 2500 people in it. (Laughter.) Even that startled, because it was fresh in my recollection when it was only a waste, and when, as a member of Congress, I was called upon to ascertain the value of certain houses which were destroyed by the assaults of the British. I came here afterwards, gentlemen, in 1833. Your city then had enlarged, manufactories had commenced, prosperity had begun. I had the pleasure of addressing you or your fathers, or both, in the Park, and I remember I was told, among other things, that I might say, with safety, that there were fifteen or eighteen steamboats on Lake Erie. (Laughter and applause.) And I remember another thing, gentlemen, and I hope some parties to that transaction are here.

The mechanics of Buffalo did me the great honor, of tendering to me a present of an article of furniture, made from a great, glorious black-walnut tree, which grew to the south of us. They signified their desire to make a table out of that walnut tree, and send it to me. The table was made, and I accepted it, of course, with great pleasure. When I left here in July, the tree was standing; and in about five weeks there was an elegant table, of beautiful workmanship, sent to my house, which was then in

Boston. When I went to Marshfield it followed me to the sea-side, and there it stands now in the best room in my house, and there it will stand as long as I live, and I hope as long as the house shall stand. (Great applause.) And I take this occasion to reiterate my thanks for that beautiful present. (Applause.) I am proud to show it; I am proud to possess it; I am proud in all the recollections that it suggests. (Applause.) I was again in Buffalo some fourteen years ago, on my return from the West. That, I think, was in July also. I left the sea-coast in May. It was soon after the termination of General Jackson's administration, and the commencement of Mr. Van Buren's. I recollect I traveled by the way of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Canals, and so on to the Ohio; and I was on the Ohio River, I think, at Wheeling, on the 25th of May, when we heard of the failure of all the Banks, the breaking up of all the credit of the country, and Mr. Van Buren's proclamation for an extra session of Congress. That rather hastened our progress. I went by the way of Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, and had the pleasure of seeing my fellow-citizens of Buffalo on my return. Now, gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to say, that between that time and the present, the population of your city has augmented at least one-half. (Applause.) And here is Buffalo, a city of 50,000 inhabitants.

It is, undoubtedly, one of the wonders of the age, and of this country. I enjoy it, gentlemen, with a degree of pleasure inferior only to your own, because we are of the same country, because we participate in the same destiny, and because we are bound to the same fate for good or evil. (Great cheering.) All that is my interest is your interest, at least I feel it to be so; and there is not in this region, or beyond the Lakes, a city planned, a tree felled, a field of wheat planted, or any other mark of prosperity, in which I, for one, do not take an interest. But then, gentlemen, one thing strikes me. You are all a young race here. (Cheers.) Here is my friend near me. (Pointing to Hon. Albert H. Tracy.) We were young men together. It seems to me but a short time ago, and here we are. (Applause.) Now, who do I see around me here? Why, the rising generation have taken possession of Buffalo. (Applause.) Ye fathers, be frightened! Ye grandfathers, be alarmed! The youth of Buffalo have taken possession of the city. (Applause.) But then, you unmarried women of Buffalo, and you, young wives of Buffalo, be neither frightened nor alarmed; for those who have taken possession will be your protectors. (Laughter.) And I believe that this is true throughout the whole county of Erie. The strong arms of young men till the soil. The vigorous resolution which takes hold of any improvement, and sustains every public project, takes counsel, no doubt, from age and experience; but young men in this country push forward everything; complete everything.

Gentlemen, I need not say that this great neighborhood of yours, and this great State of yours, are full of things most striking to the eye and to the imagination. The spectacle which your State presents; the waters of New York; the natural phenomena of New York; are exciting to a very high degree. There is this noble river, the Niagara; the noble Lake from which it issues; the Falls of Niagara, the wonder of the world! the lakes and waters of a secondary class. Why, how many

things are there in this great State of New York, that attract the wonder and draw the attention of Europe? I had the pleasure of being a few weeks in Europe, and every one asked me, how long it took to go to Niagara Falls, and how long to see other curiosities. New York, in all its relations, in its falls, its rivers, and secondary waters, is attractive to all the world. But then there is New York, in the State of New York. Gentlemen, the commercial character so far pervades the minds of commercial men all over the world, that there are many men who are very respectable and intelligent, who do not seem to know there is any part of the United States but New York. (Laughter.) I was in England, and when I was there it was asked of me, if I did not come from New York. (Great laughter.) I told them my wife came from New York. (Continued laughter.) That is something. (Great laughter.) Well, gentlemen, I had the honor, one day, to be invited to a State-dinner, by the Lord Mayor of London. He was a portly and a corpulent gentleman. (Laughter.) He had a big wig on his head, all powdered and ribboned down behind, and I had the honor to sit between him and the lady Mayoress; and there were 300 guests, with all the luxuries and gorgeousness of the Lord Mayor's dinner. By and by, in the course of the proceedings, his lordship thought proper, soon after the cloth was removed, to take notice of his American guest. He seemed not to know who I was. He knew I was a Senator; but of the United States he seemed to have but little idea of any place but New York. (Laughter.)

He arose: "Gentlemen," said he, "I give you the health of Mr. Webster, a member of the upper Senate of New York." (Great outburst of laughter.) Well, gentlemen, it was a great honor to be a member of any Senate of New York, but if there was an upper Senate, to be a member of that would be a great honor, indeed. (Tremendous laughter.) Gentlemen, New York, the State of New York, let me indulge in a moment's reflection on that great theme! It has so happened in the dispensation of things, that New York stretches from boundary to boundary, through our whole country. Your fellow-citizens, to-day, are eating clams at Montauk Point, 700 miles from here, and you are regaling on lake trout. You stretch along and divide the whole country. New York stretches from the frontier of Canada to the sea. New York divides the Southern States from the Eastern. Here she is with two heads; one down at New York, and the other at Buffalo, like a double-headed snake, and there she lies. Well, what are you to do with her? Fixed, firm and immovable, there she is. (Applause.) It has pleased God, in assigning her a position in the configuration of the earth's surface, to cause her to divide the whole South from the East, and she does so, physically and geographically. As she stretches here, in the whole length and breadth, she divides the Southern from the Eastern States. But, gentlemen, that is her inferior destiny, her inferior characteristic; for, if I do not mistake all auguries, her higher destiny is likewise to unite all the States in one political Union. (Vociferous applause and cheers.)

Gentlemen, nothing so fills my imagination, or comes up more to my idea of a great, enterprising, and energetic State, than those things which have been accomplished by New York, connected with commerce and internal improvements. I honor you for it. When I consider that your canal runs from the Lakes to tide-water; when I consider also that you

have a railroad from the Lake to tide-water; and when I examine, as I have examined, that stupendous work, hung up, as it were, in the air, on the southern range of mountains from New York to Lake Erie; when I consider the energy, the power, the indomitable resolution which effected all this, I bow with reverence to the genius and people of New York, whatever political party may lead, or however wrong I may deem any of them to act in other respects. It takes care of itself, it is true to itself, it is true to New York; and being true to itself, it goes far in establishing the interest of the whole country, in my opinion. For one, I wish it so to proceed. I know that there are questions of a local and State character with which I have nothing to do. I know there is a proposition to make this canal of yours greater and broader, if I may say so, to give to New York and its commerce more power to let out what it has, with greater facility. I know not how that may comport with State politics or State arrangements, but I shall be happy to see the day, when there shall be no obstruction, or hindrance, in any article of trade, or commerce, going out right, straight and strong, with breadth enough, and margin enough, and room enough to carry all to its market. May I say, gentlemen, that a broad, deep, and ample canal realizes, and more than realizes, what the poet has said of the River Thames:

> "Oh, could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
> My great example, as it is my theme!
> Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full."

But, gentlemen, there are other things about this State of yours. You are here at the foot of Lake Erie. You look out on the far expanse of the West. Who have come here? Of whom are you composed? You are already a people of fifty thousand, a larger population than that of any New England city, except Boston; and yet you are but of yesterday. What is your population? A great many of them are my countrymen, and I see them with pleasure; but these are not all, there are also Irish and Germans. I suppose, on the whole, and in the main, they are safe citizens; at any rate, they appear well disposed, and they constitute a large portion of your population. That leads us to consider generally what is the particular position of our country, and of your city, as one of the great outlets to the West, in regard to this foreign immigration. The emigration to this country is enormous—it comes from Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, &c. I remember it used to be a simile, when anything of a sudden or energetic nature took place, to say that it "broke out like an Irish rebellion, forty thousand strong, when nobody expected it." Forty thousand strong does not begin to compare with the emigration to the United States. Emigration comes here with a perfect rush from every part of Ireland; from Limerick and the Shannon, from Dublin and from Cork; emigrants come also from the Northern ports, from Londonderry and Belfast, and here they are. Into this country they come, and will continue to come; it is in the order of things, and there is no possibility of preventing it. Gentlemen, it is about three centuries and a half since Columbus discovered America, and he came here by authority of the Spanish Government. He gathered up some gold, and went back with a great name. It is a much shorter time since the Irish

discovered America, and they come in much greater numbers; but they don't come here with the idea of carrying back money, or fame, or a name, but mean to live here forever. They come to remain among us, and to be of us, and to take their chances among us. Let them come.

There are also Germans. Your city, I am told, has a very large number of thrifty, industrious German people. Let them also come. If His Majesty of Austria, and the Austrian Government, will allow them to come, let them come. (Great applause.) All we desire, whosoever come, is, that they will Americanize themselves; that, forgetting the things that are behind, they will look forward; and if they look as far as Iowa and Minnesota, they will not look a rod too far. I know that many from Europe come here, who have been brought up to different pursuits, to different forms of application, and even to different systems of agriculture; but, as a general thing, I believe it is true, that when they are removed from the temptations of the cities of the Atlantic coast, and when they get into regions, where trees are to be felled, and land cleared, they prove themselves worthy and respectable citizens; and, perhaps, gentlemen, you will excuse me if, without too long a speech, I say a little relative to our American system on this subject of foreign emigration. In the Declaration of Independence, declared, as you all know, on the 4th of July, 1776, a solemn and formal complaint is made against the British King, that he sought to prevent emigration from Europe to the colonies, by refusing his assent to reasonable laws of naturalization, by reason of which, it was stated, the country did not fill up, and the public lands were not purchased. It is worthy the attention of any gentleman, who wishes to acquaint himself with the early history of the country in this respect, to refer back to the naturalization laws passed in the time of Washington. Every one can see what was the prevailing idea at that period. The idea of encouraging emigration from Europe was universal, and it was desired that those, who wished to become naturalized, should become acquainted with our system of government before they voted; that they should have an interest in the country; that they might not be led away by every designing demagogue. At that day, nobody foresaw such developments, and such enlargement in the commerce of the country, as we now see; and, therefore, in the early periods of Washington's administration, they were looking to see how they should pay the debt of the Revolution. Whatever we may think of it now, their great resource to pay their debts was, as they thought, the public domain. They had obtained, before the Constitution was formed, a grant of the Northwest Territory, which was known to be capable of furnishing great products by agricultural labor. The Congress of that day looked to this. They had no idea how sudden would be the great increase of our commerce, or how plentiful would be the revenue from that source; and, therefore, their main resource was to see how far they could encourage foreign emigration, (which, it was expected, would bring capital into the country,) with an idea of such a conformity with our American system, and to American institutions, as would render emigration safe, and not dangerous to the common weal.

Gentlemen, we are not arbiters of our own fate. Human foresight falters and fails. Who could foresee or conjecture at that day, what our eyes now see and behold? We see this for good or for evil. Nor

could we stay this immigration if we would. We see there is a rush of people from Europe to America, that exceeds, in a single month, and at the single port of New York, the population of many single cities on the Atlantic coast. This is the case, and it is to be met and to be considered. It would be foolish to attempt to obstruct it, if obstruction were safe. The thing can't be done. You may remember, gentlemen, (though I am too modest to suppose that you remember much about it,) that, in my correspondence with Lord Ashburton, who came out here to negotiate the Treaty of '42, we examined the subject of the impressment of American citizens. Up to that day, England had insisted on the right to visit every American ship in the time of war, and if she found any Englishmen, Irishmen, or Welshmen on board of her, to press them into her service, on the ground that they could not transfer their allegiance. I need not say, gentlemen, that this subject had been a matter of negotiation. It was, at one time, suggested by the British minister, that the right should be exercised only in certain latitudes. At another time it was suggested, that this right should not be extended to the deprivation of any American vessel of her crew. I am afraid, or ashamed, gentlemen, indeed I don't know that I ought to say it, but with your permission I will say it, that on that occasion it was decided that every man on board of an American vessel, either mercantile or naval, was protected by the flag of America. (Tremendous applause.) No matter if his speech did betray him; no matter what brogue was on his tongue; if the stars and stripes were over him, he was for that purpose, while on board an American vessel, an American citizen. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, as we are indulging in a sort of saturnalia, and as we are talking of ourselves a little, (cries of "Who?" "Go on,") let me say, that from that day to this, we have heard of no pretensions on the part of the British Government, that it could send an officer on board of any American ship, and take from her any human being whatever, and never shall. (Great applause.)

Lord Ashburton, with whom I negotiated and corresponded on that occasion, was a judicious and wise man. He had been a good deal in this country. He was married in this country. He knew something of this country; and he saw various relations between this country and England in a far more philanthropical point of view than most others, and he stated in a letter, which is on record somewhere: "I must admit that when a British subject, Irish, English, or Welsh, becomes an American, and claims no longer the protection of his own country, his own country has no right to call him a subject, and to put him in a position to make war on his adopted country; and it appears to me," he added, "that we may count it among the dispensations of Providence, that these new facilities of transporting men from country to country, by the power of steam, and quickly, are designed by a high wisdom." He said, "We have more people than land, and you have more land than people. Take as many from us as you please, or as please to come. That seems to be the order of things; and it is not to be stopped." I told him that was my opinion too. Gentlemen, this emigration is not to be stopped; we must keep things as they are; we must impress all who come here with the necessity of becoming Americans. We must teach them; we must endeavor to instill American sentiments into all their bosoms. (Prolonged Applause.) Gentlemen, if it were not so late in the evening, I would say a few

more words (cries of " Go on, Go on") about the public lands of this country, and the best disposition to be made of them. What shall we do with them? They amount to a vast extent of territory, rich in its natural fertility; but can any one tell me what is the value of land unconnected with cultivation and social life? A thousand acres would not, in such a case, be of the value of a dollar. What is land worth in the extreme interior? Land is a theatre for the application and exhibition of human labor; and when human labor goes upon it, and is exerted, then it creates its value, and without it, it is not worth a rush, from " Dan to Beersheba." I do not wish to say, on every acre of land there must be a settlement; but there must be human labor somewhere near it; there must be something besides the mathematical division apportioning it into sections, half sections, and quarter sections, before land is of any value whatever.

But, gentlemen, we have had a series of wonderful events in our commercial relations. The commerce of the country is filling the coffers of the country. It has supplied, and now supplies, every want of the government. What, then, shall we do with the public lands? During the last Congress, acts were passed, distributing large quantities of them, varying from 160 acres, or more, down to 40 acres, to those who had rendered military service to the country. This was all very well; nobody goes further than I do, in desiring to make happy those who have borne arms in their country's cause, as well as their widows and orphans; but, this does not appear to me to answer the exigencies of the case. What is to be done? What is to become of those who come to this country, and have nothing to buy land with? That's the question, gentlemen; the last measure proposed by me while in the last Congress, was the short and simple proposition, that every man of twenty-one years of age, who would go on any uncultivated land in the country, and take up 160 acres and cultivate it for five years, should thereby make it his own, and there to be an end of the public right; and if his widow and children did the same, they should have it. One of the great evils of this military bounty business is, that when warrants are issued, manage it as you will, they fall into the hands of speculators, and do not accrue to those whom it was designed to benefit. They sell for a trifle, and they fall into the hands of speculators, as I have already stated. Let me tell you an anecdote on this subject: I brought forward this matter in the Senate of the United States, and soon afterwards I received a letter from Europe, stating that it was wrong and unjust, because it would interfere with the rights of those who had purchased warwants, to settle on the public lands, as a matter of speculation. (Laughter.) I wrote back that it was just the thing I wished. I was glad it was so, and I had desired it should be so. My proposition was, that these lands should not be alienated; that they should be free of claims for debt; that they should be free of debt; that they should not be transferable, and if a man left his land before five years, he should lose it.

My proposition was, that the lands granted under it should not be alienable; should not be subject to alienation by law; that a man entering upon should stay upon, should cultivate it for five years; or if he should not live, then his wife or children should remain upon it, for the specified term of five years, when it should be theirs forever. My object

was simply, as far as the object could be accomplished, to benefit those of the Northern States who were landless, and the thousands of the Southern States, who were willing to toil if they had anything of their own to toil upon. It was to benefit the emigrant, by giving him a home; to let him feel that he had a homestead; that he trod upon his own soil; that he was a man, a freeholder. On his own good behavior he must rely to make up all else to which he would aspire. I might have been wrong in my opinions, but they are my opinions still; and if ever an opportunity is given me, I shall endeavor to carry them out.

Well, gentlemen, I revert once more to your great State. I see all her works, all her gigantic improvements, the respectability of her Government. I hear of her greatness over the whole world. Your merchants have a character everywhere, which realizes the idea of my youth of the character of a British merchant, which I will illustrate by an anecdote. A friend of mine, in the days of the French Republic, had so much confidence in the men who stood at the head of affairs, that he invested largely in Assignats. But after a while he found them to be worthless. His creditors would not touch them; and there they were, dead upon his hands. One day, after using some very extravagant language, he concluded by saying, "that if he were traveling in the deserts of Arabia, and his camel should kick up a British bill of exchange out of the sands, it would be worth ten per cent. premium, while these Government Assignats were not worth a farthing." So your commercial character stands. Your vessels traverse every sea, and fill all the rivers. You call commerce to you, and she comes. You call her from the vasty deep, and she responds to your call.

But, gentlemen, I will conclude by offering a sentiment, for I am sure you are anxious to hear from others, from whom I have too long detained you. Permit me to give

The State of New York: Not the envy, but the admiration of her sister States.

It is needless to say that Mr. Webster was greeted throughout with repeated applause, and resumed his seat amidst long-continued and enthusiastic cheers.

SPEECH AT SYRACUSE.

Fellow-citizens of Syracuse, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you cordially for the pains you have taken to meet together this afternoon, forming so broad an assemblage, to welcome me to your important and growing city of Syracuse.

I have known this place, by occasional visits, for many years; some of those visits were made before you, whose happy faces I see before me, were born, or when you were in infancy. I have watched its progress with interest, connected as it has been with the interest of the great saline product of the State, and as the capital of the noble County of Onondaga, which I have always regarded with admiration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, The President and his friends wereinvited, three weeks ago, to attend the celebration of the completion of that great line of communication, the Erie Railroad. We left Washington with no other purpose, certainly none on my part, than to perform that agreeable duty. I had not the slightest expectation of being here, nor had I the slightest idea, or wish, of being called upon to address you, or any other body of citizens of the United States, upon the political topics of the day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, my time of life for such public discourses and illustrations may be considered as pretty much over. There is a time for all things, and there has been a time when it was not unpleasant to me to meet masses of ladies and gentlemen in the open air, and to speak upon topics which were not disagreeable to them, and certainly not to me. But there must come a time, as we advance in life and age, when what we do for the public must be more in the closet, and less in the field.

Nevertheless, Ladies and Gentlemen, a large number of the people of Syracuse having signified to me, by letter, that it was their desire that I should meet them to-day, and address them on public subjects, as far as may be in my power, I gladly conform to their request.

On the great question of the day, my fellow-citizens, I have no secrets. I have nothing to conceal and nothing to boast of. I trust that all of you know pretty well who I am, and what I am, and what my principles of political conduct have been for the last thirty years. They are not likely to be changed; and it is not likely that any earthly inducement will prevail upon me to depart from those settled notions and opinions which I imbibed in early life, which I have followed in the councils of this country, for good or for evil, for thirty years, and the correctness of which my judgment approves more and more every day of my life.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I know very well that on the agitating questions of the present day, I have not the happiness to concur with all the people of Syracuse, or the county of Onondaga, or other parts of the State of New York. I know there are varieties of sentiments, and I know the sources of that disagreement. Some of them are very justifiable, and some of them, I am sorry to believe, are not capable of much defence.

But I know there are differences of feeling brought about by differences of association, by different reading, and by different degrees of knowledge and information respecting public affairs.

But, since I am requested to address you, you must take from me the honest sentiments of my own heart, the convictions of my own conscience. I lay no claim to your approval of my views, and I ask no favorable reception of them, "farther than you see the suggestions I make to you, are worthy of your regard." You are here in the centre, the very centre of the greatest State in the Union, the place where frequently assemble representatives of all parties and all views, and you have here all sorts of sentiments advanced, all sorts of doctrines espoused, and you have a very fair opportunity of forming a judgment, a fair, conscientious judgment, of all great questions before the public.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of notoriety all the world over, and especially in Syracuse, that the origin of the important questions, that for two years have agitated the country, is the condition of the Southern States in respect to the institution of slavery in those States, and the rights of the parties connected with that institution in the Government under which we live.

You cannot state, more strongly than I feel to be true, that this original, ancient, unhappy institution of the slavery of the African races in the Southern States, is forever and ever to be deplored. It has been, in the course of our history, as much deplored by the Southern States as by ourselves, and, to sixty years ago, was more deplored by them than by us.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the Northern people did not feel the evils of slavery, because it was not among them to any great or growing extent. The Southern people did feel the evils, because it was among them; and they all thought, and all said, it was an evil entailed upon them by the British Government, for which they were full of lamentation and regret, and if they knew how to get rid of it, they would embrace any reasonable measure to accomplish that end.

Such were the feelings and such the opinions of the principal men of the South; of such men as Chancellor Wythe, Jefferson, Mason, and other leading men of the South, who were concerned in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. And if you, young men, will look into the history of those times, you will find what I state to be true, that the Southern people were more filled with regret at the existence of slavery than the Northern people were.

The thirteen were colonies originally of English origin, coming here at different times, settling along the coast under various circumstances, all united by a common origin, found themselves oppressed by the mother country in '75, and in '76 they declared their independence. That was an act of Union; it was a united act of the thirteen colonies; it was that united act that made us free from the dominion of England; and, united under that act, the colonies fought the war of the Revolution, and afterwards established a common Government. There was at that time no more idea of prohibiting slavery in the Southern States, than there was of introducing it into the Northern States. These domestic State institutions, and State establishments, were considered as the proper subjects for the legislation of States themselves.

For purposes of general defence and general welfare, and for purposes of commercial equality, and similar objects, the States afterwards agreed

to become one government; and as to all the rest, it was expressly agreed that every State should take care of its own rights, and regulate itself in relation thereto at its own discretion. Upon these principles we came together under the Constitution which was then adopted; and Washington, unanimously chosen by all the people, was our first President.

That was before your day, fellow-citizens, and before mine, but it is a matter of history; and from it you know, that this question of the existence of slavery in the Southern States never became an agitating subject for more than fifty years afterwards. For more than fifty years the Northern States never supposed that they had anything to do with it; but, in process of time, and in the progress of things, public sentiment has changed at the North. There is now a strong and animated, sometimes an enthusiastic, and sometimes a religious feeling, against the existence of slavery in the South. But persons entertaining such feelings and sentiments, as I think, disregard the line of their own duties, and adventure upon fields which are utterly forbidden.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are in this country Abolition Societies and Abolition Presses; and it is no new thing for me to say, for I said it twenty years ago, and have held the opinion ever since, that, in my opinion, all these things have prejudiced the condition of the slave. Twenty years ago, a convention of the whole people of Virginia was held, to deliberate on changing her Constitution, and there was a free discussion of the policy of liberating the slaves, and of gradual emancipation. The question was freely and openly discussed, and there was no fear, no reserve. I followed, in that respect, the advice of Jefferson, and Madison, and Marshall, with all of whom I have conversed upon this subject, and all of whom desired to see a way in which the gradual emancipation of the slave population of the South might be accomplished. And as I said, twenty years ago that question was freely and openly discussed by Marshall and other persons at the convention called by the people of Virginia. Everybody knew what was going on, and it was perfectly safe to come out and maintain, as a general proposition, that it would be for the benefit of the South to provide for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

It was about that time that Abolition Societies were established in New England, and, in my opinion, they have done nothing but mischief; they have riveted the chains of every slave in the Southern States; they have made their masters jealous and fearful, and postponed far and far the period of their redemption. This is my judgment; it may not be yours.

Well, what has been the consequence? We have had occasions in which, in our political system, questions have arisen on the extension of slave territory. It arose in the case of Texas, and nobody found me then voting for the addition of one foot of slave territory to the United States. Ah! even before many persons who now shout the loudest for liberty, knew what liberty was, I declared, in the city of New York in 1837, (and it has been on record ever since, and you can all see it,) my fixed purpose, that, under no circumstances, and under the pressure of no exigency, would I agree to take Texas into this country as a slave State, or a slave territory. From that position I have not departed; but our good representatives in the Senate and in the House of Representatives from the State of New York, from the Empire State, voted for the admission of Texas, while I resisted it in vain.

I state it not as a reproach, but as a fact, that some of the gentlemen from New York, then distinguished in the houses of Congress, in spite of all I could say or do, voted to bring Texas, as she was, into the Union, as a slave State, and with the solemn stipulation of the privilege of making out of herself four more slave States.

What are they, and where are they now? They are Free-soilers of the first water, (applause,) and they loudly denounce Mr. Webster. I believe he has been denounced here. Is not this Syracuse? (Great applause and laughter.) I believe they hold conventions here, (laughter;) they denounce Webster as the fit associate of Benedict Arnold; and Prof. Stuart, Dr. Spencer and Dr. Lord, and Dr. Dewey, and others of that stamp, as being no better. (Laughter.) I would be glad to strike out Benedict Arnold; as for the rest, I am proud of their company.

This is the truth; and before the throne of God, and before the tribunal of an intelligent people, there is nothing valuable but *truth*, *truth*, *truth*. It is not glossary or commentary, that is valuable; it is not that thing called eloquence, never of the greatest value, and often mischievous; but it is that which can stand the test of time and eternity alone, *truth*.

Now it is *truth*, that from my earliest introduction into public life, up to the present time, I never voted, I always refused to vote, for the acquisition of one inch of slave territory to the United States. (Great applause.) But that goes for nothing, for nothing.

It is equally true that the Constitution of the United States, in so many words, declares that persons bound to service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall not be discharged therefrom, but shall be delivered up to the person to whom such service is due.

Now, I have sworn, again and again, to support that Constitution, and so has every person, who has held office under the State Government, as solemnly sworn before God to support that Government; that is, so far as depends upon him, to take care that no fugitive from labor, coming into a free State, be discharged from that labor, but shall be restored.

Well, what are we to do, then, as conscientious persons? How are we to treat this matter? Are we at liberty to say that all this is imagination, all nonsense, and we will do as we please? Shall we say here is no obligation binding on our conscience? You might as well say there are no obligations in domestic relations. Our political duties are equally matters of conscience, as are the duties arising out of our domestic ties and most endearing social relations. That is my opinion.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would wish that all the human race, of every color, were as happy as we are, and as capable of self-government. So far as men are qualified for self-government; so far as they are happier by being able to take care of themselves, so much the better. But we are to consider what we do, and we are not to rush on under the influence of a false philanthropy and mistaken humanity. If you satisfy me that we can do anything for the benefit of the southern slave, constitutionally, I will do it. I have said, and I say again, I would vote in Congress, were I in that body, to restore to Virginia all the public lands the General Government has had from her, and all the proceeds of the same up to this time, if by that means it would enable her to provide some way for the emancipation of her black population. Can I do more? Can

you do more? And if we cannot do that, can we do more than to leave it to an all-wise Providence to bring about the result?

At the commencement of 1850, a year and a half ago, I was a member of Congress. I had been there a great while, perhaps most of you think quite too long, (laughter,) but there I was. We had acquired these new territories from Mexico, all against my wishes. I voted against each and all of them. California had no attractions for me. I did not wish to bring into this government the agitating question about the further extension of slave territory. Your Senators from New York did wish it, and voted for it, against many votes of Southern gentlemen, who felt as I did, and who wished to avoid the controversy. Such were Berrien and Badger, Southern men. Their constituents wished them to vote for bringing in the new acquisitions, but they saw the evil of it, and they said, *No!* and voted against it. But the Northern States voted for it, very many of them, New York and Rhode Island, and even one-half of Massachusetts.

They said we will try an experiment. Good Heavens! try an experiment to see whether it will dismember the Union! Make an acquisition which may destroy it! Try an experiment upon the nation with as much unconcern as we try an experiment in chemistry! * *

Well, this territory came in. It turned out as I foresaw. I will not say I foresaw the whole; I foresaw a part.

California was settled by a rush of people from the Northern and Middle States, and they made that government free at once. So far so good. She came in as a State, with the star of freedom in her forehead, and I rejoice at it. But no doubt it was a serious disappointment to the Southern people, that some parts of California were not set apart for slave population and slave culture.

What next? There were those two territories of New Mexico and Utah, and a great conflict arose between the North and the South, whether the Wilmot Proviso should be applied to New Mexico.

I examined that subject; I knew it was distasteful and repugnant to the South; and I asked myself whether any such provision was necessary; whether in the course of human events, whether in the geographical conformation of the country, and the habits of the people, there was the least ground to suppose that New Mexico would ever be a slave country. I thought there was not.

I thought that by the law of nature, superior to all the Wilmot Provisos the world ever saw, the mountains of New Mexico must sustain a free population. Therefore I would not consent merely as a taunting reproach, to apply the Wilmot Proviso to the mountains of New Mexico; any more than I would apply it to the Canadas.

Well, *that* is the burden of my offence. But throughout New York and New England, this refusal to apply the Wilmot Proviso, is charged against me as a falsification of all the principles of liberty I have supported all my life.

I made that declaration on the 7th of March, 1850. You know the sound of reproach that rang through the whole country; you know how Webster, who was supposed to be the friend of liberty and of the Constitution, was reviled, everywhere, for his departure from that course.

In forty days from the time I made that speech, and expressed my

opinion that it was not necessary to have a controversy with the South upon that subject, because the law of nature had excluded slavery from New Mexico, the people of New Mexico assembled and formed a constitution which excluded it altogether.

Now, what I have to complain of, I do not mean to complain of anything; but the truth is, that of all the presses in Western New York and New England, that reviled me so much and so violently, for affirming there was no necessity for applying the Wilmot Proviso to New Mexico, there is not one of them that has taken back the charge, when they saw the truth of my assertion verified by facts. Did they say Webster was right, and we wrong? No; not one of them.

Now, my fellow-citizens, at the commencement of the year 1850 there was a general agreement, not universal, a general consent, of the majority of Congress to bring in California under her Constitution of freedom. But what was to be done with those two territories?

And there was still a more vital question. You know Texas accomplished her independence by her revolution against Mexico; and afterwards by her Constitution, as she said, Texas embraced all that part of the country commonly called New Mexico, lying east of the Rio Grande. That was disputed. I do not say Texas was right; but that was her claim. Then we had admitted Texas in '45, without any statement of her boundaries. When she came into the Union, under the law of '45, and when we acquired New Mexico, a question immediately arose as to whom New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande, belonged; whether to the United States or to Texas. This was very much a matter of dispute. Now, who should settle this question? Texas was an extreme Southern State, full of ardent young men, ready for any enterprise for what they considered the support of their rights; who were going to take possession by force of arms, of what they thought were Texas lands. At that time there were six or seven States of the South that had passed resolutions of separation, or leading to separation, or calling conventions to consider the question of separation, and some of whom seemed ready to take up the cause of Texas, and assist in enforcing her rights. Such was the state of things.

I confess, that for one, I thought it a subject of the greatest importance, to settle this question of the Texas boundary by a just compromise; by any fair and equal arrangement, so that the peace of the country might be preserved. Without going more at length into the matter now, I wish to say, that in my opinion, there was great danger of civil war. From the condition of Texas herself, and considering the thousands upon thousands of persons in the Southern States, who were only waiting an opportunity to make an outbreak, and were ready to join the standard of Texas, which would give them the chance for military display; I say there was the greatest danger of civil war.

I know very well, had Texas taken the first step, the Government of the United States would easily have subdued her. As a military matter, it was easy to foresee that result. But then as a political matter, as a matter connected with the view which the statesman should take of it, who can see the result of the shedding of blood by the Government?

I thought, therefore, and think still, that every reasonable sacrifice

that could be made, to settle the boundary of Texas, and to take away the topic of disunion from among us, should be made.

But there remained other matters. I thought there ought to be a proper government for Utah and New Mexico. We have in all such cases, heretofore, established a territorial government. We did establish it, and that was one of the measures of that Congress, and in my opinion a very proper one.

And this leads us to the consideration of the question of the enactment of what is called the Fugitive Slave Law. I have said that you and I are not responsible for the existence of slavery in the South, no more than in the Island of Cuba, and we have no more to do with the one than the other. It is as far removed from all your political duties, and my political duties, as the slaves in the West India Islands. Well, here they are, and here is an original compact of the States, that persons, bound to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, shall not be discharged, but be returned.

Now, in General Washington's time, in 1793, Congress passed an act for carrying this part of the Constitution into effect. It was thought wise at the time to leave the execution of that law pretty much in the hands of State tribunals; State magistrates, and officers and judges were authorized to execute that law. It was so administered for fifty years, and nobody complained of it. Things went on until this new excitement of the slavery question, this abolition question, was brought up, and then some of the States, Massachusetts, and others, enacted laws making it penal to execute this law of Congress.

Then the statute became a dead letter in this part of it; when, of course, it became a matter of necessity to provide for the execution of this Constitutional enactment by the authority of the Government of the United States, or give it up altogether. Well, I made no question myself, that if we meant to fulfil the contract of the Constitution, if we meant to be honest, it was our duty to make a provision, which, by the authority of the Government itself, should carry into execution the provisions of that Constitution. And that is the origin of the present Fugitive Slave Law.

I do not say the law is perfect. I proposed some amendments to it, but was called from the Senate before it was adjusted.

The law passed, and I have not yet heard the man whose opinion is worth a sixpence, who has said that that law is not perfectly constitutional. The Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, of New York, of Massachusetts, all say the law is a constitutional one, passed in perfect conformity to the requirements of the Constitution. What then? Is it not to be obeyed? Are not those who are sworn to obey the Constitution, to enforce that law? Is it not a matter of conscience, of conscience?

But what do we hear? We hear of persons assembling in Massachusetts and New York, who set up themselves over the Constitution, above the law, and above the decisions of the highest tribunals, and who say this law shall not be carried into effect. You have heard it here, have you not? Has it not been so said in the county of Onondaga? (Cries of Yes, yes.) And have they not pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to defeat its execution? Pledged their lives, their

fortunes, and *sacred honor!* for what? For the violation of the law, for the committal of treason to the country; for it is treason, and nothing else. (Great applause.)

I am a lawyer, and I value my reputation as a lawyer, and I tell you, if men get together and declare a law of Congress shall not be executed in any case, and assemble in numbers and force to prevent the execution of such law, they are *traitors*, and are guilty of treason, and bring upon themselves the penalties of that crime.

No! no! It is time to put an end to this imposition upon good citizens, good men and good women. It is treason, *treason*, TREASON, and nothing else, (cheers,) and if they do not incur the penalties of treason, it is owing to the clemency of the law's administration, and to no merit of their own.

Who and what are these men? I am assured some of them are clergymen, and some, I am sorry to say it, are lawyers, and who the rest are, I know not.

They say the law will not be executed. Let them take care, for those are pretty bold assertions. The law must be executed, not only in carrying back the slave, but against those guilty of treasonable practices in resisting its execution.

Depend upon it, the law will be executed in its spirit, and to its letter. (Great applause.) It will be executed in all the great cities; here in Syracuse; in the midst of the next Anti-slavery Convention, if the occasion shall arise; then we shall see what becomes of their lives and their sacred honor. (Tremendous cheering.)

Do not debauch your own understandings, your own judgments; do not render ridiculous your own sympathy, humanity and philanthropy, by any such ideas.

The course of your duty towards all that are in bondage within your power and influence, is plain. Happily the teaching of the sacred book, which is our guide, instructs us in that matter. What we can do, we will do, to let the oppressed go free, to succor the distressed, and to visit the prisoner in affliction. We must do our duty, and we must content ourselves with acting conscientiously in that sphere of life in which we are placed; politicians in their sphere, individuals in their sphere, and all of us under the deep, earnest sense of obligation that our Creator has impressed upon us.

It is not unfrequently said by a class of men to whom I have referred, that the Constitution is born of hell; that it was the work of the devil; and that Washington was a miserable blood-hound, set upon the track of the African slave. How far these words differ from words that have saluted your ears within yonder hall, you will judge.

Men who utter such sentiments are ready at any moment to destroy the charter of all your liberties, of all your happiness, and of all your hope. They are either insane, or fatally bent on mischief.

The question is, therefore, whether we will sustain the government under which we live; whether we will do justice to the Southern States, that they may have no excuse for going out of the Union. If there are any that will not consent that the South shall have a fair hearing, a fair trial, a fair decision upon what they think the Constitution secured to them, I am not of that number.

Everybody knows that I am a Northern man, born in the extreme North, bred and brought up in notions altogether irreconcilable to human slavery, and why should I have any sentiments in common with the South on that subject?

But when it is put to me as a public man, whether the people of the South, under the stipulations of this Constitution, have not the right of a fair law from Congress for returning to them the fugitive slave, I say they have; and I could not say otherwise.

Ladies and gentlemen, you will pardon me for the gravity of these remarks. I had rather talk with you in private or public on other subjects; upon the prosperity and happiness we all enjoy; upon the growth of this beautiful part of New York; and in short upon anything, rather than upon the fugitive slave law, or Texas or New Mexico; but I came here at the solicitation of the people of your city, to speak upon public topics. You will accept my thanks for the kind manner in which you have been pleased to receive me, and I wish you and your families all, life, happiness and prosperity.

MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH

AT

THE DINNER GIVEN HIM AT SYRACUSE.

B. Davis Noxon, Esq., gave the following toast:

"The Constitution and its greatest Expounder; the Union and its ablest Defender."

Mr. Webster arose, amid great applause, to reply.

I am happy to meet you, and to enjoy this quiet, social and agreeable dinner with you. Mr. Noxon has done me too much honor, to allude to me in the terms which he has chosen, in connecting my services with the Constitution of the country, and the Union.

It has so happened, that all the public services which I have rendered in the world, in my day and generation, have been connected with the General Government. I think I ought to make an exception. I was ten days a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, (laughter,) and I turned my thoughts to the search of some good object in which I could be useful in that position; and, after much reflection, I introduced a bill which, with the general consent of both houses of the Massachusetts Legislature, passed into a law, and is now a law of the State, which enacts that no man in the State shall catch trout in any other manner than in the old way with an ordinary hook and line. (Great laughter.) With that exception, I never was connected, for an hour, with any State Government, in my life. I never held office, high or low, under any State Government. Perhaps that was my misfortune.

At the age of thirty, I was in New Hampshire, practising law, and had some clients. John Taylor Gilman, who, for fourteen years, was Governer of the State, thought that, a young man as I was, I might be fit to be an Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire, and he nominated me to the Council; and the Council taking it into their deep consideration, and not happening to be of the same politics as the Governor and myself, voted, three out of five, that I was not competent, and very likely they were right. (Laughter.) So, you see, gentlemen, I never gained promotion in any State Government.

Gentlemen, to be serious, my life has been a life of severe labor in my profession, and all the portion I could spare of that labor, from the support of my family and myself, has been devoted to the consideration of subjects connected with the general history of the country; the Constitution of the country; the confederation out of which the Constitution arose; the history of all the Congresses which have assembled before and since the formation of that Constitution; and, in short, if I have learned anything, or know anything, (and I admit that it is very little,) what I do know, and what I do understand, as far as I understand anything, is the Constitution of the United States, the history of its formation, and the history of its administration under General Washington, and from that time down to this.

I sometimes, gentlemen, draw around me a sort of presentation of characters and persons who composed the first administration of Washington. I like to look back, I like to re-ascend to those original fountains, and drink in their pure waters. There is nothing that strikes my judgment, and my feelings, stronger than to go back to New York in April, '89.

General Washington had been elected President. So uncertain was it, then, what would be the success of the new government, that the 4th of March went by four weeks before there was a quorum of either branch of Congress. And I have seen several original letters, addressed to members of Congress, urging them to come on, to form a government.

Many of the choice spirits, and all the eminent men that he had known through the period of the Revolution, staunch, good, strong men, disciplined, tried in the great school of adversity, were there. There was Hamilton, a marvel, a perfect marvel; young, a man almost self-educated, a man of intuitive genius; for nobody knows when or where he obtained the learning, the knowledge which distinguished him at so early a period.

General Washington saw he was fit to be placed at the head of the finances of the government; a great post, which was to decide whether the government could go on or not; because the country was poor, and the Congress of the country was untried. At that time, there was no general flag, no law regulating commerce; and the question was, whether any revenue could be derived from it.

And then there was Gen. Henry Knox, who in September was placed at the head of the War Department, a good soldier. In the same month, Washington placed John Jay at the head of the Judiciary; that gave confidence to the courts of the United States. No man ever ascended the bench of justice with a purer and higher character than John Jay. Afterwards, he sent him on a most important mission to England, and placed in that station Ellsworth, of Connecticut. He invited Jefferson, though not in the country, to become Secretary of State. In short if one might draw before him now the scene as it existed when Washing-

ton was inaugurated, and see his sedate and serene manner, a manner which to some, perhaps, seemed austere; and if we could have him before us this day, and look at him as he sat in his first Cabinet, it would make one of the most striking historical pictures that could be committed to canvas. But we go further back, to '74; '74 is the great era in our history, the time of the meeting of the first Congress in Philadelphia.

And those remarkable papers that distinguished that Congress, and especially that capital paper addressed to England, by John Jay! There we see the great basis of that popular system which our fathers maintained through the Revolution, and which constitutes the basis of the present systems of government in the United States.

Well, they fought through the Revolution; they came out conquerors, and peace took place in '83. Now, allow me to say that there is no more interesting period in our history, than that which ensued between the peace of '83 and the establishment of this Government.

The States were all separate, all poor; none had any commerce. There was the debt of the Revolution unpaid, millions upon millions; and the government then existing could not lay any tax, and could not collect any duties.

Of all periods in our history, if you, young men, will study it, if those who hope to be distinguished in the history of our country hereafter will study it, that portion, from the peace of '83 to the establishment of this Government, is fullest of instruction.

Then it was that the ceaseless activity of Hamilton and Madison exhibited itself. They were the two great motive powers, the one north, the other south. Hamilton was ten years the younger, but he was the elder in everything but years, and Madison followed him in matters of the highest moment.

If, gentlemen, you should have occasion to recur to the reports of Congress, in '83, upon the necessity of such a government as could lay uniform duties, and make a uniform commerce, and establish a uniform government, so that there should be the one and the same commerce in Massachusetts and in Virginia, there you will see all the elements laid down.

It is in these pursuits, and in the study of these questions, that I have, perhaps, devoted more of my time than a more strict regard to myself and my family would justify. But I must confess they have been the pursuits of my life.

Then we arrive at the assembly of gentlemen from several of the States, in '86. There were Madison and Hamilton, and a few others, twelve in all, I think, whose object was to bring the States to the same conclusion, that goods imported should pay a uniform duty.

After a session of two weeks, they concluded to recommend the calling of a convention to make a constitution of government for the whole United States. That recommendation was sent to the old Congress, and by them transmitted to the States. And in May, 1787, the convention that formed the present Constitution met in Philadelphia.

So the formation of the Constitution went on by slow degrees, and wise and experienced public men came to the conclusion that these States could not be prosperous without a General Government, and that Government founded upon the principle of a Union in things common and general to all, and the States power and authority reserved wherever the general Union, and the purposes of it, did not require an interference.

These things are all historical. It is in the nature of things that men go on from step to step, according to the exigency of the case. They found a Union was necessary, a common commercial system necessary; and all these things were provided for in the Constitution under which we live. If we look at it, we shall see it is a matter of compromise and agreement from first to last. The Northern States were commercial, and what had they to gain? They had to gain a protected commerce abroad, and an exclusive right of the coasting trade, and of the domestic trade of the country, as against foreign influences. The South yielded all that. They agreed to place in Congress the entire control over the commerce of the country, both domestic and foreign. And therefore we all know that the first Congress that ever assembled, placed the entire coasting trade of the country in American hands. Foreign ships could not, after that, trade between Boston and Virginia. And at that day the commerce was mostly New England and New York commerce, and so it has remained to this day. And now it employs a vast tonnage and thousands of ships. And all of it, from Maine to California, is confined to American vessels. No foreigner interferes. They could carry much cheaper and be more useful to Southern consumers; for it is a fact that the vessels of Northern Europe, of Sweden, and the Hanse Towns, navigate the seas cheaper than we can, because they do not pay so much wages to their hands as we do, nor feed them so well.

All this is preserved, and preserved under this Constitution, to the commercial interests of the North. Well, this is the great boon which my country of New England and yours of New York has received from the Government. It has carried a common flag all over the world.

Then the Constitution went on to declare other things.

In the first place, it placed the foreign relations of the country in a right position. In the next place, it regulated uniform duties, and that was of the utmost importance. Why? There was the little State of Delaware that had a good port of entry, and Rhode Island which had an admirable port of entry. The State of Rhode Island had the power of assessing duties high or low, as she saw fit, and by underbidding the State of New York and Massachusetts, could support her government, and educate all the children in the State besides, from her revenues. While Rhode Island was out of the General Government, the State could regulate the duties of imports into Newport, and could so underbid the State of Massachusetts, as to raise enough to maintain its whole government. It was, therefore, a great sacrifice to give up what was, in fact, a subsistence, and come in under a general system. But it was done. The North and South all agreed to it. That is what has made New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Gentlemen, there were compromises on both sides, but of that I have said enough to-day, as regards Southern rights acquired under the Constitution. Then, gentlemen, there is a larger view of this matter, a national view. We were no nation before '89. We had no flag, and there was no power in Europe that would treat with any State, nor had any State any treaty with any foreign power.

It was only when the Constitution of the United States had been adopted; when the Government was organized under it, in the city of New York, in April, '89; when laws were made, imposing uniform duties in every port; when there was a common flag, a common authority; it was then, and only then, that we became a nation such as we now are. If

there is any man more conversant with history than I am, who can find out any records, ancient or modern, who can refer to anything that has occurred since the flood, so illustrative of the power of a great, united government, as our own history has shown, I should be glad to see it. Whether it be poetry, or fiction, or imagination, I defy any man to produce anything equal to it from any source.

And I may say, in consequence of the allusion which has been made to me, that it has been in the study of these topics, of the principles of this Constitution, of the manner of its administration, that I have spent all that part of my life, not now a short one, which I could spare from the severe duties of my profession; and I must say, gentlemen, that I go back every day of my life to the model of Washington's administration. And I say to you here to-night, were I to draw the character of a President, such as Washington, were he on earth, would approve, Washington himself should stand before me, and I would copy his master-strokes and imitate his designs. (Great applause.)

It was a marvel, a perfect marvel, for a man to come up to the civil government from the head of our armies, who possessed so much moderation, so much caution, so much wisdom and firmness, and who at once entered upon the civil administration of the government with so much prudence, and in a manner to give so much satisfaction, and that has left on the whole a character more remarkable and more renowned than any other public man ever possessed. The reason was, that he possessed great good sense, sound judgment and absolute purity of motive; and a full confidence of his country cheered him and sustained him from the beginning to the end.

Thus it has happened, we have had great models. In the course of succeeding times we may have great models. We have sometimes thought that this administration, or that, has gone wrong, but they all at length have worked into the same line, and we are now, after the lapse of more than sixty years, in the possession of the same Constitution, adequate to the accomplishment of all good purposes; and I think, if we have the good sense and forbearance to keep together, there is nothing we may not expect to attain to. We have had dangers, but they have been overcome; and I flatter myself that we shall remember that our forefathers fought together, and achieved our liberties together, established this government together, that it was their united wisdom that gave the first impulse to the laws setting the government in motion.

We have prospered under it, and have gloried under it, and it has raised our name, and fame, and character (I would not boast) higher than that of any nation upon the earth. (Prolonged cheers.) I say it in the fullness of my conviction, there is not a name given under Heaven, which touches in so thrilling a manner the races of millions of the civilized people of the world, as the American nation, the country of Washington. I hope to live to a good old age; I hope to see nothing that will mar that name; but if it be the pleasure of God in his all-wise Providence to cast a cloud over that prospect; if it be in the future that this country, this glorious nation, this renowned government shall fall to pieces, thankful to Him for the life that I have lived, I shall be more thankful if he shall take me to himself before I see such a melancholy atastrophe. (Great applause.)

MR. SPENCER'S SPEECH

AT THE

DINNER GIVEN TO MR. WEBSTER AT ALBANY.

Mr. Spencer rose and addressed the company as follows :—

I am about to offer a sentiment, my friends, which you expect from the chair. The presence of the distinguished guest whom we have met to honor, imposes restraints which may not be overleaped. Within those limits, and without offending the generous spirit which has on this occasion discarded all political and partisan feeling, I may recall to our recollections a few incidents in his public life, which have won for him the proud title of "Defender of the Constitution." (Great applause.)

When in 1832–33, South Carolina raised her parricidal arm against our common mother, and the administration of the government was in the hands of that man of determined purpose and iron will, Andrew Jackson, whose greatest glory was his inflexible resolution to sustain the Union or perish with it, (here the speaker was interrupted by deafening shouts of applause,) in that dark and gloomy day, where was our guest found ? Did he think of paltry politics, of how much his party might gain by leaving their antagonists to fight the battle of the Union between themselves, and thus become a prey to their watchful opponents ? No, gentlemen, you know what he did. He rallied his mighty energies, and tendered them openly and heartily to a political chieftain whose administration he had constantly opposed. (Cheers upon cheers.) He breasted himself to the storm. Where blows were thickest and heaviest, there was he ; and when he encountered the great champion of the South, Colonel Hayne, in that immortal, intellectual struggle, the parallel of which no country has witnessed, the hopes, the breathless anxiety of a nation, hung upon his efforts ; and, oh, what a shout of joy and gratulation ascended to heaven, at the matchless victory which he achieved. (Here, for some time, the speaker was unable to proceed, in consequence of the incessant and tumultuous cheering of the company, who had spontaneously risen from their seats.) Had he then been called to his fathers, the measure of his fame would have been full to overflowing, and he would have left a monument in the grateful recollection of his countrymen, such as no statesman of modern times has reared. (Renewed applause.) But he was reserved by a kind Providence for greater efforts. For more than twenty years, in the Senate Chamber, in the courts of justice, and in the executive councils, he has stood sentinel over the Constitution. It seems to have been the master passion of his life to love, to venerate, to defend, to fight for the Constitution, at all times and in all places. (Cheers upon cheers.) He did so because the Union existed and can exist only in the Constitution ; and the peace and happiness of the country can exist only in the Union. In fighting for the Constitution, he fought therefore for the country, for the whole country.

I may not speak in detail of the many acts of his public life which have developed this absorbing love of country. But there are a few of the pre-

cious gems in the circlet which adorns his brow, that are so marked and prominent that they cannot be overlooked.

When he first assumed the duties of the Department of State, war was lowering in our horizon like a black cloud, ready to launch its thunderbolts around us. The alarming state of our foreign relations, at that time, is shown by the extraordinary fact that the appropriation bills passed by Congress at the close of Mr. Van Buren's administration contained an unusual provision, authorizing the President to transfer them to military purposes. In a few months after our guest took the matter in hand, the celebrated treaty with Lord Ashburton was concluded, by which the irritating question of boundary was settled, every difficulty then known or anticipated was adjusted, and among others, the detestable claim to search our vessels for British seamen, was renounced.

In connection with this treaty, I take this occasion, the first that has presented itself, to state some facts which are not generally known. The then administration had no strength in Congress; it could command no support for any of its measures. This was an obstacle sufficiently formidable in itself. But Mr. Webster had to deal with a feeble and wayward President, an unfriendly Senate, a hostile House of Representatives, and an accomplished British diplomatist. I speak of what I personally know, when I say, that never was a negotiation environed with greater or more perplexing difficulties. He had at least three parties to negotiate with instead of one, to say nothing of Massachusetts and Maine, who had to be consulted in relation to a boundary that affected their territory. You know the result; glorious as it was to our country, how glorious was it also to the pilot that guided the ship through such difficulties! (Prolonged cheering.)

You have not forgotten how the generous sympathies of our guest were awakened in behalf of the noble Hungarians, in their immortal resistance against the force of barbarism. And sure I am there is not a heart here that has not treasured up the contents of that world-renowned letter to Chevalier Hulsemann, in answer to the intimations of threats by Austria to treat our diplomatic agent as a spy! What American was not proud of being the countryman of the author of that letter? (Cheers upon cheers silenced the speaker for some time.)

I confess I cannot now think of that letter, without recollecting the sensations a particular part of it produced upon my risible faculties. I mean the comparison between the territories and national importance of the House of Hapsburgh and those of the United States of America. (A universal shout of merriment here interrupted the speaker again and again, and prevented him from proceeding for some time.)

But I must stop the enumeration of the great deeds in the glory of which we all participate, and by the results of which the whole civilized world has been benefited. I must stop, or the setting sun would leave me still at the task, and the rising sun would find it unfinished.

The same soul-absorbing devotion to the country and to the Constitution, as its anchor of safety, has been exhibited so recently and so remarkably, that no one can have forgotten it. In the view which I present of the matter, it is quite immaterial whether we regard our guest as having been right or wrong. He deemed the course he took to be the only one permitted to him by his sense of duty. On the other side were the strong feelings with which, as a Northern man, he had always sympathized; there also were

the friends of his youth and of his age ; the troops of ardent and devoted admirers ; all whose love was equal to their reverence ; all the associations and affections of life were clustered there ; while on the other side a feeling of enmity, engendered by former contests and the defeat of all their schemes, nothing to allure or invite, but everything to repel, except one, and that was the Constitution of the country ; that, as he conscientiously believed, required him to interpose and prevent a breach of faith, as well as of the organic law, and avert a civil war that he believed was impending. He hesitated not a moment, but at once marched up to the deadly breach, and was ready to sacrifice upon his country's altar, more than life, everything that could render life worth retaining.

My friends, whatever other view may be taken of that step, every one knows that it conformed to the whole plan of his public life to know no North, no South, when the Constitution was in question ; and there is not a heart in this assembly that will not respond to my voice when I pronounce it heroism ; heroism of the most sublime order. It can be compared only to that of the Great Reformer who, when advised not to proceed to the Diet that was convoked to condemn him, declared that if fifty thousand legions of devils stood in the way, go he would ! (Prolonged and universal shouts.)

How poor and insignificant are all our efforts to express our appreciation of such a character and of such services. They have sunk deep in our hearts ; they will sink deeper still in the hearts of the unborn millions who are to people this vast continent, and when he and we sleep with our fathers, his name will reverberate from the Atlantic to the Pacific as the defender of the Constitution and of his country.

Gentlemen, I give you a sentiment which I think will be drank in bumpers and standing. (The whole assembly rose at once with acclamation :)

"The Constitution of the United States, and Daniel Webster, inseparable now, and inseparable in the records of time and eternity."

MR. WEBSTER'S RESPONSE.

Fellow-Citizens, I owe the honor of this occasion, and I esteem it an uncommon and extraordinary honor, to the young men of this city of Albany ; and it is my first duty to express to these young men my grateful thanks for the respect they have manifested towards me. Nevertheless, nevertheless, young men of Albany, I do not mistake you, or your object, or your purpose. I am proud to take to myself whatever may properly belong to me, as a token of personal and political regard from you to me. But I know, young men of Albany, it is not I, but the cause ; it is not I, but your own generous attachments to your country ; it is not I, but the Constitution of the Union, which has bound together your ancestors and mine, and all of us, for more than half a century. It is this, that has brought you here to-day, to testify your regard toward one who, to the best of his humble ability, has sustained that cause before the country. (Cheers.) Go on, young men of Albany ! Go on, young men of the United States ! Early manhood is the chief prop and support, the reli-

ance and hope, for the preservation of public liberty and the institutions of the land. Early manhood is ingenuous, generous, just. It looks forward to a long life of honor or dishonor; and it means, by the blessing of God, that it shall be a life of honor, of usefulness, and success, in all the professions and pursuits of life; and that it shall close, when close it must, with some claim to the gratitude of the country. Go on, then; uphold the institutions to which you were born. You are manly and bold. You fear nothing but to do wrong, dread nothing but to be found recreant to patriotism and to your country.

Gentlemen, I certainly had no expectation of appearing in such an assemblage as this to-day. It is not probable, that for a long time to come, I may again address any large meeting of my fellow-citizens. If I should not, and if this were the last, or to be among the last of all the occasions in which I am to appear before any great number of the people of the country, I shall not regret that that appearance was here. I find myself in the political capital of the greatest, most commercial, most powerful State of the Union. I find myself invited to be here by persons of the highest respectability, without distinction of party. I consider the occasion as somewhat august. I know that among those who now listen to me there are such as are of the wisest, the best, the most patriotic and the most experienced public and private men in the State of New York. Here are governors and ex-governors, here are judges and ex-judges, of high character and high station; and here are persons from all the walks of professional and private life, distinguished for talent, and virtue, and eminence. Fellow-citizens, before such an assemblage, and on such an invitation, I feel bound to guard every opinion and every expression; to speak with precision such sentiments as I advance, and to be careful in all that I say, that I may not be misapprehended or misrepresented. I am requested, fellow-citizens, by those who invited me, to signify my sentiments on the state of public affairs in this country, and the interesting questions which are before us.

This proves, gentlemen, that in their opinion there are questions sometimes arising which range above all party, and all the influences, and considerations, and interests of party. It proves more; it proves that, in their judgment, this is a time in which public affairs do rise in importance above the range of party, and draw to them an interest paramount to all party considerations. If that be not so, I am here without object, and you are listening to me for no purpose whatever.

Then, gentlemen, what is the condition of public affairs which makes it necessary and proper for men to meet, and confer together on the state of the country? What are the questions which are overriding, subduing, and overwhelming party, uniting honest, well-meaning persons to lay party aside, to meet and confer for the general public weal? I shall, of course, fellow-citizens, not enter at large into many of these questions, nor into any lengthened discussion of the state of public affairs, but shall endeavor to state what that condition is, what these questions are, and to pronounce a conscientious judgment of my own upon the whole.

The last Congress, fellow-citizens, passed laws called adjustment measures, or settlement measures; laws intended to put an end to certain internal and domestic controversies which existed in the country, and some of which had existed for a long time. These laws were passed by the constitutional

majorities of both houses of Congress. They received the constitutional approbation of the President. They are the laws of the land. To some, or all of them, indeed to all of them, at the time of their passage, there existed warm and violent opposition. None of them passed without heated discussion. Government was established in each of the territories of New Mexico and Utah, but not without opposition. The boundary of Texas was to be settled by compromise with that State, but not without determined and violent opposition. These laws all passed, however, and as they have now become, from the nature of the case, irrepealable, it is not necessary that I should detain you by discussing their merits and demerits. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I desire on this and on all public occasions, in the most emphatic and clear manner to declare, that I hold some of these laws, and especially that which provided for the adjustment of the controversy with Texas, to have been essential to the preservation of the public peace.

I will not now argue that point, nor lay before you at large the circumstances which existed at that time; the peculiar situation of things in so many of the Southern States, or the fact that many of those States, had adopted measures for the separation of the Union; the fact that Texas was preparing to assert her rights to territory which New Mexico thought was hers by right, and that hundreds and thousands of men, tired of the ordinary pursuits of private life, were ready to rise and unite in any enterprise that might open itself to them, even at the risk of a direct conflict with the authority of this Government. I say, therefore, without going into the argument with any details, that in March of 1850, when I found it my duty to address Congress on these important topics, it was my conscientious belief, still unshaken, ever since confirmed, that if the controversy with Texas could not be amicably adjusted, there must, in all probability, have been civil war and civil bloodshed; and in the contemplation of such a prospect it appeared of little consequence on which standard victory should perch; although in such a contest we took it for granted that no opposition could arise to the authority of the United States that would not be suppressed. But what of that? I was not anxious about the military consequences of things; I looked to the civil and political state of things and their results; and I inquired what would be the condition of the country if, in this state of agitation, if, in this vastly extended, though not generally pervading feeling at the South, war should break out, and bloodshed should ensue in that extreme of the Union? That was enough for me to inquire into and regard; and if the chances had been but one in a thousand that civil war would have been the result, I should still have felt that that one thousandth chance should be guarded against by any reasonable sacrifice; because, gentlemen, sanguine as I am for the future prosperity of the country; strongly as I believe now, after what has passed, and especially after those measures to which I have referred, that it is likely to hold together, I yet believe firmly that this Union, once broken, is utterly incapable, according to all human experience, of being re-constructed in its original character, of being re-cemented by any chemistry, or art, or effort, or skill of man. Now, gentlemen, let us pass from those measures which are now accomplished and settled. California is in the Union and cannot be got out; the Texas boundary is settled, and cannot be disturbed; Utah and New Mexico are territories, under provision of law, according to accustomed

usage in former cases; and these things may be regarded as finally adjusted But then there was another subject, equally agitating and equally irritating which, in its nature, must always be subject to consideration or proposed amendment; and that is, the fugitive slave law of 1850, passed at the same session of Congress.

Allow me to advert, very shortly, to what I consider the ground of that law. You know, and I know, that it was very much opposed in the Northern States; sometimes with argument not unfair, often by mere ebullition of party, and often by those whirlwinds of fanaticism that raise a dust and blind the eyes, but produce no other effect. Now, gentlemen, this question of the propriety of the fugitive slave law, or the enactment of some such law, is a question that must be met. Its enemies will not let it sleep or slumber. They will "give neither sleep to their eyes nor slumber to their eyelids" so long as they can agitate it before the people. It is with them a topic, a desirable topic, and all know who have much experience in political affairs, that for party men, and in party times there is hardly anything so desirable as a topic. (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, I am ready to meet this question. I am ready to meet it; I am ready to say that it was right, proper, expedient, just, that a suitable law should be passed for the restoration of fugitive slaves, found in free States, to their owners in slave States. I am ready to say that, because I only repeat the words of the Constitution itself, and I am not afraid of being considered a plagiarist, nor a feeble imitator of other men's language and sentiments, when I repeat and announce to every part of the country, to you, here, and at all times, the language of the Constitution of my country. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, before the Revolution, slavery existed in the Southern States, and had existed there for more than a hundred years. We of the North were not guilty of its introduction. That generation of men, even in the South, were not guilty of it. It had been introduced according to the policy of the mother country, before there was any independence in the United States; indeed, before there were any authorities in the colonies competent to resist it. Why, gentlemen, men's opinions have so changed on this subject, and properly, the world has come to so much juster sentiments, that we can hardly believe, what is certainly true, that at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, the English Government insisted on the fulfillment, to its full extent, of a condition in the treaty of the Assiento, signed at Utrecht, in 1713, by which the Spanish Government had granted the unqualified and exclusive privilege to the British Government of importing slaves into the Spanish colonies in America! That was not then repugnant to public sentiment; happily such a contract would be execrated now.

I allude to this, only to show, that the introduction of slavery into the Southern States is not to be visited upon the generation that achieved the Independence of this country. On the contrary, all the eminent men of that day regretted its existence. And you, my young friends of Albany, if you will take the pains to go back to the debates of the period, from the meeting of the first Congress in 1774, I mean the Congress of the Confederation, to the adoption of the present Constitution, and the enactment of the first law under the existing Constitution, you and anybody who will make that necessary research, will find that Southern men and Southern States, as represented in Congress, lamented the existence of slavery in far more ear-

nest and emphatic terms than the Northern; for though it did exist in the Northern States, it was a feeble taper, just going out, soon to end, and nothing was feared from it; while leading men of the South, of Virginia and the Carolinas, felt and acknowledged that it was a moral and political evil; that it weakened the arm of the freeman, and kept back the progress and success of free labor; and they said with truth, and all history verifies the observation, "that if the shores of the Chesapeake had been made as free to free labor as the shores of the North River, New York might have been great, but Virginia would have been great also." That was the sentiment.

Now, under this state of things, gentlemen, when the Constitution was framed, its framers, and the people who adopted it, came to a clear, express, unquestionable stipulation and compact. There had been an ancient practice for many years, for a century, for aught I know, according to which fugitives from service, whether apprentices at the North, or slaves at the South, should be restored. Massachusetts had restored fugitive slaves to Virginia long before the adoption of the Constitution; and it is well known that in other States, in which slavery did or did not exist, they were restored also, on proper application. And it was held that any man could pursue his slave and take him wherever he could find him. Under this state of things, it was expressly stipulated, in the plainest language, and there it stands; sophistry cannot gloss it, it cannot be erased from the page of the Constitution; there it stands, that persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall not, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due. This was adopted without dissent, nowhere objected to, North or South, but considered as a matter of absolute right and justice to the Southern States, concurred in everywhere, by every State that adopted the Constitution; and we look in vain for any opposition, from Massachusetts to Georgia.

Then, this being the case, this being the provision of the Constitution, it was found necessary, in General Washington's time, to pass a law to carry that provision of the Constitution into effect. Such a law was prepared and passed. It was prepared by a gentleman from a Northern State. It is said to have been drawn up by Mr. Cabot, of Massachusetts. It was supported by him, and by Mr. Goodhue, and by Mr. Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, and generally by all the free States. There was hardly a tenth of all the votes against it, if I rightly remember. It went into operation, and, for a time, it satisfied the just rights and expectations of everybody. That law provided that its enactments should be carried into effect mainly by State magistrates, justices of the peace, judges of State courts, sheriffs and other organs of State authority. So things went on without loud complaints from any quarter, until some fifteen years ago, when some of the States, the free States, thought it proper for them to pass laws prohibiting their own magistrates and officers from executing this law of Congress, under heavy penalties, and refusing to the United States' authorities the use of their prisons for the detention of persons arrested as fugitive slaves. That is to say, these States passed acts defeating the law of Congress, as far as was in their power to defeat it. Those of them to which I refer, not all, but several, nullified the law of '93 entirely. They said, "We will not execute it. No run-

away slave shall be restored." Thus the law became a dead letter, an entire dead letter. But here was the constitutional compact, nevertheless, still binding ; here was the stipulation, as solemn as words could form it, and which every member of Congress, every officer of the General Government, every officer of the State Governments, from governors down to constables, are sworn to support. Well, under this state of things, in 1850, I was of opinion that common justice and good faith called upon us to make a law, fair, reasonable, equitable, just, that should be calculated to carry this constitutional provision into effect, and give the Southern States what they were entitled to, and what it was intended originally they should receive, that is, a fair right and reasonable means to recover their fugitives from service from the States into which they had fled. I was of opinion that it was the bounden duty of Congress to pass such a law. The South insisted that they had a right to it, and I thought they properly so insisted. It was no concession, no yielding of anything, no giving up of anything. When called on to fulfil a compact, the question is, will you fulfil it? And, for one, I was ready. I said, 'I will fulfil it by any fair and reasonable act of legislation.' Now, the law of 1850, had two objects, both of which were accomplished : First, it was to make the law more favorable for the fugitive than the law of 1793. It did so, because it called for a record, under seal, from a court in the State from which the fugitive came, proving and ascertaining that he was a fugitive, so that nothing should be left, when pursued into a free State, but to produce the proof of his identity. Next, it secured a higher tribunal, and it placed the power in more responsible hands. The judges of the Supreme and District Courts of the United States, and learned persons appointed by them as commissioners, were to see to the execution of the law. Therefore it was a more favorable law, in all respects, to the fugitive, than the law passed under General Washington's administration in '93. And the second object was, to carry the constitutional provision into effect, by the authority of law, seeing that the States had prevented the execution of the former law.

Now, let me say that this law has been discussed, considered, and adjudged in a great many of the tribunals of the country. It has been the subject of discussion before judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, the subject of discussion before courts the most respectable in the States. Everywhere, on all occasions, and by all judges, it has been holden to be, and pronounced to be, a constitutional law. So say Judges McLean, Nelson, Woodbury, and all the rest of the judges, as far as I know, on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. So says the unanimous opinion of Massachusetts herself, expressed by as good a court as ever sat in Massachusetts, its present Supreme Court, unanimously, and without hesitation. And so says everybody, eminent for learning, and constitutional law, and good judgment, without opposition, without intermixture of dissent, or difference of judicial opinion anywhere. And I hope I may be indulged on this occasion, gentlemen, partly on account of a high personal regard, and partly for the excellence and ability of the production, to refer you all to a recent very short opinion of Mr. Prentiss, the District Judge of Vermont. (Applause.) True, the case before him did not turn so much on the question of the constitutionality of this law, as upon the unconstitutionality and illegality, and utter inadmissibility, of the notion

of private men and political bodies setting up their own whims, or their own opinions, above it, on the idea of the higher law that exists somewhere between us and the third heaven, I never knew exactly where. (Cries of "good," and laughter.)

All judicial opinions are in favor of this law. You cannot find a man in the profession in New York, whose income reaches thirty pounds a year, who will stake his professional reputation on an opinion against it. If he does, his reputation is not worth the thirty pounds. (Renewed laughter.) And yet this law is opposed, violently opposed, not by bringing this question into court: these lovers of human liberty; these friends of the slave, the fugitive slave, do not put their hands in their pockets and draw funds to conduct law suits, and try the question; they are not in that habit much. (Laughter.) That is not the way they show their devotion to liberty of any kind. But they meet and pass resolutions; they resolve that the law is oppressive, unjust, and should not be executed at any rate, or under any circumstances. It has been said in the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, over and over again, that the law shall not be executed. That was the language of a Convention in Worcester, in Massachusetts; in Syracuse, New York, and elsewhere. And for this they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor! (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, these proceedings, I say it upon my professional reputation, are distinctly treasonable. Resolutions passed in Ohio, certain resolutions in New York, and in the conventions held in Boston, are distinctly treasonable. And the act of taking away Shadrach from the public authorities in Boston, and sending him off, was an act of clear treason. I speak this in the hearing of men who are lawyers; I speak it out to the country; I say it everywhere, on my professional reputation. It was treason, and nothing less; that is to say, if men get together, and combine together, and resolve that they will oppose a law of the government, not in any one case, but in all cases; I say if they resolve to resist the law, whoever may be attempted to be made the subject of it, and carry that purpose into effect, by resisting the application of the law in any one case, either by force of arms or force of numbers, that, sir, is treason. (Turning to Mr. Spencer, and stamping with emphasis.) You know it well. (Continuing to address Mr. Spencer. The resolution itself, unacted on, is not treason; it only manifests a treasonable purpose. When this purpose is proclaimed—and it is proclaimed that it will be carried out in all cases—and is carried into effect, by force of arms or numbers, in any one case, that constitutes a case of levying war against the Union, and if it were necessary, I might cite, in illustration, the case of John Fries, convicted in Washington's time, for being concerned in the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania. Now, various are the arguments, and various the efforts, to denounce this law; to oppose its execution; to keep it up as a question of agitation and popular excitement; and they are as diverse as the varied ingenuity of man, and the aspect of such questions when they come before the public. And a common thing it is to say that the law is odious; that therefore it cannot be executed, and will not be executed. That has always been said by those who do not mean it shall be executed; not by anybody else. They assume the fact, that it cannot be executed, to make that true which they wish shall turn out to be true. They wish that it

shall not be executed, and, therefore, announce to all mankind that it cannot be executed.

When public men, and the conductors of newspapers of influence and authority, thus deal with the subject, they deal unfairly with it. Those who have types at command, have a perfect right to express their opinions; but I doubt their right to express opinions, as facts. I doubt whether they have a right to say, not as a matter of opinion, but of fact, that this particular law is so odious, here and elsewhere, that it cannot be executed. That only proves that they are of opinion that it ought not, that they hope it may not, be executed. They do not say, "See if any wrong is inflicted on anybody by it, before we wage war upon it; let us hope to find in its operation no wrong or injury to anybody. Let us give it a fair experiment." Do any of them hold that language? Not one. "The wish is father to the thought." They wish that it may not be executed, and therefore they say it cannot and will not be executed. That is one of the modes of presenting the case to the people; and, in my opinion, it is not quite a fair mode of doing it. There are other forms and modes; and I might omit to notice the blustering Abolition societies of Boston and elsewhere, as unworthy of regard; but there are other forms more insidious, and equally efficacious. There are men who say, when you talk of amending that law, that they hope it will not be touched. You talk of attempting it, and they dissuade you. They say, "Let it remain as obnoxious as it can be, and so much the sooner it will disgust, and be detested by, the whole community."

I am grieved to say that such sentiments have been avowed by those in Massachusetts who ought to be utterly ashamed, utterly ashamed, to utter such opinions. For, what do they mean? They mean to make the law obnoxious; so obnoxious that it shall not be executed. But still they suggest no other law; they oppose all amendment; oppose doing anything that shall make it less distasteful. What do they mean? They mean, and they know it, that there shall exist no law whatever for carrying into effect this provision of the Constitution of the country, if they can prevent it, let the consequences be what they may. They wish to strike out this constitutional provision; to annul it. They oppose it in every possible form short of personal resistance, or incurring personal danger; and to do this, they say the worse the law is the better. They say we have now a topic, and for mercy's sake don't amend the horrible law of 1850. (Laughter.) Then, again, they say, "We are for an eternal agitation and discussion of this question; the people cannot be bound by it. Every member of Congress has the right to move the repeal of this as well as any other law." Who does not know this, gentlemen? A member must act according to his own discretion. No doubt he has a right to-morrow, if Congress were in session, to move a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law; but this takes with it another fact.

He has just as much right to move to tear down the Capitol, until one stone shall not be left on another; just as much right to move to disband the army, and to throw the ordnance and arms into the sea. He has just as much right to move that all the ships of war of the United States shall be collected and burned; an illumination like that which lit up the walls of ancient Troy. He may move to do any of these things. The question is, Is he prudent, wise; a real friend of the country, or adverse to it? That is all.

And a greater question lies behind: Will the people support him in it? Is it the result of the good sense of the Northern people, that the question shall have neither rest nor quiet, but shall be constantly kept up as a topic of agitation? I cannot decide this question for the people, but leave them to decide it for themselves. And now, gentlemen, this is a serious question, whether the Constitution can be maintained in part and not in whole? Whether those interested in the preservation of one part of it, finding their interests in that particular abandoned, are not likely enough, according to all experience of human feeling and human conduct, to discard that portion which was introduced, not for their benefit, but for the benefit of others? That is the question. For one, I confess, I do not see any reasonable prospect of maintaining the Constitution of the United States, unless we maintain it as a whole; impartially, honorably, patriotically. Gentlemen, I am detaining you too long; but allow me a few words on another subject, by way of illustration.

The Constitution of the United States consists in a series of mutual agreements or compromises, one thing being yielded by the South, another by the North; the general mind having been brought together, and the whole agreed to, as I have said, as a series of compromises constituting one whole. Well, gentlemen, who does not see that? Had the North no particular interest to be regarded and protected? Had the North no peculiar interest of its own? Was nothing yielded by the South to the North? Gentlemen, you are proud citizens of a great commercial State. You know that New York ships float over the whole world, and bring abundance of riches to your own shores. You know that this is the result of the commercial policy of the United States, and of the commercial power vested in Congress by the Constitution. And how was this commerce established? by what constitutional provisions, and for whose benefit? The South was never a commercial country. The plantation States were never commercial. Their interest always was, as they thought, what they think it to be now, free trade, the unrestricted admission of foreigners in competition in all branches of business with our own people. But what did they do? They agreed to form a Government that should regulate commerce according to the wants and wishes of the Northern States, and when the Constitution went into operation, a commercial system was actually established, on which has risen up the whole glory of New York and New England. (Applause.)

Well, what did Congress do under a Northern lead with Southern acquiescence? What did it do? It protected the commerce of New-York and the Eastern States, first, by a preference, by way of tonnage duties, and that higher tonnage on foreign ships has never been surrendered to this day, but in consideration of a just equivalent; so in that respect, without grudging or complaint on the part of the South, but generously and fairly, not by way of concession, but in the true spirit of the Constitution, the commerce of New York was, and the New England States were, protected by the provision of the Constitution to which I have referred. But that is not all.

Friends! Fellow-citizens! Men of New York! Does this country not now extend from Maine to Mexico, and beyond? and have we not a State beyond Cape Horn, belonging nevertheless to us as part of our commercial system? And what does New York enjoy? What do Massa-

chusetts and Maine enjoy? They enjoy an exclusive right of carrying on the coasting trade from State to State, on the Atlantic and around Cape Horn to the Pacific. And that is a most highly important branch of business, and source of wealth and emolument, of comfort and good living. Every man must know this, who is not blinded by passion or fanatacism. It is this exclusive right to the coasting trade which the Northern States possess, which was granted to them, which they have ever held, and which, up to this day, there has been no attempt to rescue from them; it is this which has employed so much tonnage and so many men, and given support to so many thousands of our fellow-citizens. Now, what would you say in this day of the prevalence of notions of free trade; what would you say, if the South and the West were to join together to repeal this law? And they have the votes to do it to-morrow. What would you say if they should join hands and say that these men of the North and New England, who put this slight on our interests, shall enjoy this exclusive privilege no longer? That they will throw it all open, and invite the Dane, the Swede, the Hamburger, and all the commercial nations of Europe who can carry cheaper, to come in and carry goods from New York coastwise on the Atlantic, and to California on the Pacific? What do you say to that?

Now, gentlemen, these ideas have been a thousand times suggested, perhaps, but if there is anything new in them, I hope it may be regarded. But what was said in Syracuse and Boston; it was this: "You set up profit against conscience; you set up the means of living; we go for conscience." (Laughter.) That is a flight of fanaticism. All I have to answer is, that if what we propose is right, fair, just, and stands well with a conscience not enlightened with those high flights of fancy, it is none the worse for being profitable; and that it does not make a thing bad which is good in itself, that you and I can live on it, and our children be supported and educated by it. If the compact of the Constitution is fair, and was fairly entered into, it is none the worse one should think, for its having been found useful. (Renewed applause.) Gentlemen, I believe, in Cromwell's time—for I am not very fresh in my recollections of that historic period; I have had more to do with other things than some of you younger men that love to look into the instructive history of that age, but I think it was in Cromwell's time, that there sprang up a race of saints who called themselves "fifth monarchy men;" and a happy, felicitous, glorious people they were; for they had practised so many virtues, they were so enlightened, so perfect, that they got to be, in the language of that day, "above ordinances." That is the higher law of this day exactly. (Laughter.) Our higher law is but the old doctrine of the fifth monarchy men, of Cromwell's time, revived. They were above ordinances, walked about firm and spruce, self-satisfied, thankful to God that they were not as other men, but had attained so far to salvation as to be "above all necessity of restraint or control, civil or religious." (Renewed laughter.)

Gentlemen, we live under a Constitution. It has made us what we are. What has carried the American flag all over the world? What has constituted that unit of commerce, that wherever the stars and stripes are seen, they signify that it is America and united America? What is it now that represents us so respectably all over Europe? in London at this moment, and all over the world? What is it but the result of those com-

mercial regulations which united us all together, and made our commerce, the same commerce; which made all the States, New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina, in the aspect of our foreign relations, the same country, without division, distinction, or separation? Now, gentlemen, this was the original design of the Constitution. We, in our day, must see to it, and it will be equally incumbent on you, my young friends of Albany, to see that while you live this spirit is made to pervade the whole administration of the Government: the Constitution of the United States to keep us united, to keep flowing in our hearts a fraternal feeling, must be administered in the spirit in which it was framed. And if I were to exhibit the spirit of the Constitution in its living, speaking, animated form, I would refer always, always, to the administration of the first President, George Washington. (Vehement cheering.) And if I were now to describe a patriot President, I would draw his master-strokes and copy his design; I would present his picture before me as a constant study; I would present his policy, alike liberal, just, narrowed down to no sectional interests, bound to no personal objects, held to no locality, but broad, and generous, and open, as expansive as the air which is wafted by the winds of heaven from one part of the country to another. (Cheers.)

I would draw a picture of his foreign policy, just, steady, stately, but withal proud, and lofty, and glorious. No man could say in his day that the broad escutcheon of the honor of the Union could receive injury or damage, or even contumely or disrespect, with impunity. His own character gave character to the foreign relations of the country. He upheld every interest of the United States in even the proudest nations of Europe, and while resolutely just, he was resolutely determined that no plume in the honor of the country should ever be defaced or taken from its proper position by any power on earth. Washington was cautious and prudent; no self-seeker; giving information to Congress according to the Constitution, on all questions, when necessary, with fairness and frankness, claiming nothing for himself, exercising his own rights, and preserving the dignity of his station, but taking especial care to execute the laws as a paramount duty, and in such manner as to give satisfaction to all just and reasonable men. And it was always remarked of his administration, that he filled the courts of justice with the most spotless integrity, the highest talent, and the purest virtue; and hence it became a common saying, running through all classes of society, that our great security is in the learning and integrity of the judicial tribunals. This high character they justly possessed, and continue to possess in an eminent degree from the impress which Washington stamped on these tribunals at their first organization.

Gentlemen, a patriot President of the United States is the guardian, the protector, the friend of every citizen in them. He should be, and he is, no man's persecutor, no man's enemy, but the supporter and the protector of all and every citizen, so far as such support and protection depend on his faithful execution of the laws. But there is especially one great idea which Washington presents, and which governed him, and which should govern every man in high office, who means to resemble Washington: that is the duty of preserving the government itself, of suffering, so far as depends on him, no one branch to interfere with another, and no power to be assumed not belonging to each, and none abandoned which pertains to each; but to

preserve it and carry it on unharmed for the benefit of the present and future generations.

Gentlemen, a wise and prudent shipmaster makes it his first duty to preserve the vessel which carries him, and his passengers, and all that is committed to his charge ; to keep her afloat, to conduct her to her destined port with entire security of property and life ; that is his first object, and that should be the object, and is, of every Chief Magistrate of the United States, who has a proper appreciation of his duty. His his first and highest duty is to preserve the Constitution which bears him, which sustains the government, without which everything goes to the bottom ; to preserve that, and keep it, with the utmost of his ability and foresight, off the rocks and shoals, and away from the quick-sands ; to accomplish this great end, he exercises the caution of the experienced navigator. He suffers nothing to betray his watchfulness, or to draw him aside from the great interest committed to his care, but is always awake, always solicitous, always anxious, for the safety of the ship which is to carry him through the stormy seas.

> "Though pleased to see the dolphins play,
> He minds his compass and his way ;
> And oft he throws the wary lead,
> To see what dangers may be hid,
> At helm he makes his reason sit ;
> His crew of passions all submit.
> Thus, thus he steers his barque and sails
> On upright keel, to meet the gales!"

Now, gentlemen, a patriot President, acting from the impulses of this high and honorable purpose, may reach what Washington reached. He may contribute to raise high the public prosperity, to help to fill up the measure of his country's glory and renown ; and he may be able to find a rich reward in the thankfulness of the people,

> "And read his history in a nation's eyes."

2

MR. WEBSTER'S ADDRESS

AT THE

LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE

OF THE

ADDITION TO THE CAPITOL;

JULY 4TH, 1851.

"Stet Capitolium
Fulgens;
Late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras."

WASHINGTON:
GIDEON AND CO., PRINTERS.
1851.

ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens: I congratulate you, I give you joy, on the return of this Anniversary; and I felicitate you, also, on the more particular purpose of which this ever-memorable day has been chosen to witness the fulfilment. Hail! all hail! I see before and around me a mass of faces, glowing with cheerfulness and patriotic pride. I see thousands of eyes, turned towards other eyes, all sparkling with gratification and delight. This is the New World! This is America! This is Washington! and this the Capitol of the United States! And where else, among the Nations, can the seat of government be surrounded, on any day of any year, by those who have more reason to rejoice in the blessings which they possess? Nowhere, fellow-citizens; assuredly, nowhere. Let us, then, meet this rising sun with joy and thanksgiving!

This is that day of the year which announced to mankind the great fact of American Independence. This fresh and brilliant morning blesses our vision with another beholding of the Birthday of our Nation; and we see that nation, of recent origin, now among the most considerable and powerful, and spreading over the continent from sea to sea.

Among the first colonists from Europe to this part of America, there were some, doubtless, who contemplated the distant consequences of their undertaking, and who saw a great futurity; but, in general, their hopes were limited to the enjoyment of a safe asylum from tyranny, religious and civil, and to respectable subsistence, by industry and toil. A thick veil hid our times from their view. But the progress of America, however slow, could not but at length awaken genius, and attract the attention of mankind.

In the early part of the next century, Bishop Berkeley, who, it will be remembered, had resided for some time in Newport, in Rhode Island, wrote his well-known "Verses on the Prospect of

planting Arts and Learning in America." The last stanza of this little Poem seems to have been produced by a high poetical inspiration:

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

This extraordinary prophecy may be considered only as the result of long foresight and uncommon sagacity; of a foresight and sagacity stimulated, nevertheless, by excited feeling and high enthusiasm. So clear a vision of what America would become was not founded on square miles, or on existing numbers, or on any vulgar laws of statistics. It was an intuitive glance into futurity; it was a grand conception, strong, ardent, glowing, embracing all time since the creation of the world, and all regions of which that world is composed; and judging of the future by just analogy with the past. And the inimitable imagery and beauty with which the thought is expressed, joined to the conception itself, render it one of the most striking passages in our language.

On the day of the declaration of Independence our illustrious fathers performed the first scene in the last great act of this drama; one, in real importance, infinitely exceeding that for which the great English poet invoked.

> "A muse of fire,
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!"

The Muse inspiring our Fathers was the Genius of Liberty, all on fire with a sense of oppression, and a resolution to throw it off; the whole world was the stage, and higher characters than princes trod it; and, instead of monarchs, countries and nations and the age beheld the swelling scene. How well the characters were cast, and how well each acted his part, and what emotions the whole performance excited, let history, now and hereafter, tell.

At a subsequent period, but before the declaration of Independence, the Bishop of St. Asaph published a Discourse, in which the following remarkable passages are found:

"It is difficult for man to look into the destiny of future ages; 'the designs of Providence are too vast and complicated, and our

'own powers are too narrow to admit of much satisfaction to our 'curiosity. But, when we see many great and powerful causes 'constantly at work, we cannot doubt of their producing propor-'tionable effects.

"The colonies in North America have not only taken root and 'acquired strength, *but seem hastening with an accelerated progress* '*to such a powerful State as may introduce a new and important* '*change in human affairs.*

"Descended from ancestors of the most improved and enlight-'ened part of the old world, they receive, as it were by inherit-'ance, all the improvements and discoveries of their mother 'country. And it happens fortunately for them to commence 'their flourishing State at a time when the human understanding 'has attained to the free use of its powers, and has learned to act 'with vigor and certainty. They may avail themselves not only 'of the experience and industry, but even of the errors and mis-'takes of former days. Let it be considered for how many ages 'a great part of the world appears not to have thought at all; 'how many more they have been busied in forming systems and 'conjectures, while reason has been lost in a labyrinth of words, 'and they never seem to have suspected on what frivolous matters 'their minds were employed.

"And let it be well understood what rapid improvements, what 'important discoveries have been made, in a few years, by a few 'countries, with our own at their head, which have at last dis-'covered the right method of using their faculties.

"May we not reasonably expect that a number of provinces, 'possessed of these advantages, and quickened by mutual emula-'tion, with only the common progress of the human mind, should 'very considerably enlarge the boundaries of science?

"The vast continent itself, over which they are gradually 'spreading, may be considered as a treasure yet untouched of 'natural productions that shall hereafter afford ample matter for 'commerce and contemplation. And, if we reflect what a stock 'of knowledge may be accumulated by the constant progress of 'industry and observation, fed with fresh supplies from the stores 'of nature, assisted sometimes by those happy strokes of chance 'which mock all the powers of invention, and sometimes by those 'superior characters which arise occasionally to instruct and en-

'lighten the world, it is difficult even to imagine to what height
'of improvement their discoveries may extend.

"*And perhaps they may make as considerable advances in the
'arts of civil government and the conduct of life.* We have reason
'to be proud, and even jealous, of our excellent constitution; but
'those equitable principles on which it was formed, an equal re-
'presentation, (the best discovery of political wisdom,) and a just
'and commodious distribution of power, which with us were the
'price of civil wars, and the rewards of the virtues and sufferings
'of our ancestors, descend to them as a natural inheritance, with-
'out toil or pain.

"*But must they rest here, as in the utmost effort of human genius?
'Can chance and time, the wisdom and the experience of public men,
'suggest no new remedy against the evils* which vices and ambition
'are perpetually apt to cause? May they not hope, without pre-
'sumption, to preserve a greater zeal for piety and public devo-
'tion than we have done? For sure it can hardly happen to them,
'as it has to us, that when religion is best understood and ren-
'dered most pure and reasonable, that then should be the precise
'time when many cease to believe and practice it, and all in
'general become most indifferent to it?

"May they not possibly be more successful than their mother
'country has been in preserving that reverence and authority
'which is due to the laws? to those who make, and to those who
'execute them? *May not a method be invented of procuring some
'tolerable share of the comforts of life to those inferior useful ranks
'of men to whose industry we are indebted for the whole? Time
'and discipline may discover some means to correct the extreme in-
'equalities of condition between the rich and the poor, so dangerous
'to the innocence and happiness of both.* They may fortunately be
'led by habit and choice to despise that luxury which is consid-
'ered with us the true enjoyment of wealth. They may have
'little relish for that ceaseless hurry of amusements which is pur-
'sued in this country without pleasure, exercise, or employment.
'And perhaps, after trying some of our follies and caprices and
'rejecting the rest, they may be led by reason and experiment to
'that old simplicity which was first pointed out by Nature, and
'has produced those models which we still admire in arts, elo-
'quence, and manners. *The diversity of new scenes and situations,*

'*which so many growing States must necessarily pass through, may*
'*introduce changes in the fluctuating opinions and manners of men*
'*which we can form no conception of;* and not only the gracious
'disposition of Providence, but the visible preparation of causes,
'seems to indicate strong tendencies towards a general improve-
'ment."

Fellow-citizens, this "gracious disposition of Providence," and this "visible preparation of causes," at length brought on the hour for decisive action. On the 4th of July, 1776, the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled declared that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

This declaration, made by most patriotic and resolute men, trusting in the justice of their cause and the protection of Heaven, and yet made not without deep solicitude and anxiety, has now stood for seventy-five years, and still stands. It was sealed in blood. It has met dangers, and overcome them; it has had enemies, and conquered them; it has had detractors, and abashed them all; it has had doubting friends, but it has cleared all doubts away; and now, to-day, raising its august form higher than the clouds, twenty millions of people contemplate it with hallowed love, and the world beholds it, and the consequences which have followed from it, with profound admiration.

This anniversary animates, and gladdens, and unites all American hearts. On other days of the year we may be party men, indulging in controversies, more or less important to the public good; we may have likes and dislikes, and we may maintain our political differences, often with warm, and sometimes with angry feelings. But to-day, we are Americans all; and all nothing but Americans. As the great luminary over our heads, dissipating mists and fogs, now cheers the whole hemisphere, so do the associations connected with this day disperse all cloudy and sullen weather in the minds and hearts of true Americans. Every man's heart swells within him; every man's port and bearing becomes somewhat more proud and lofty, as he remembers that seventy-five years have rolled away, and that the great inheritance of liberty is still his: his, undiminished and unimpaired; his in all its original glory; his to enjoy; his to protect; and his to transmit to future generations.

Fellow-citizens: This inheritance which we enjoy to-day is not only an inheritance of liberty, but of our own peculiar American liberty. Liberty has existed in other times, in other countries, and in other forms. There has been a Grecian liberty, bold and powerful, full of spirit, eloquence, and fire; a liberty which produced multitudes of great men, and has transmitted one immortal name, the name of Demosthenes, to posterity. But still it was a liberty of disconnected States, sometimes united, indeed, by temporary leagues and confederacies, but often involved in wars between themselves. The sword of Sparta turned its sharpest edge against Athens, enslaved her, and devastated Greece; and, in her turn, Sparta was compelled to bend before the power of Thebes. And let it ever be remembered, especially let the truth sink deep into all American minds, that it was the WANT OF UNION among her several States which finally gave the mastery of all Greece to Philip of Macedon.

And there has also been a Roman liberty, a proud, ambitious, domineering spirit, professing free and popular principles in Rome itself, but, even in the best days of the Republic, ready to carry slavery and chains into her provinces, and through every country over which her eagles could be borne. What was the liberty of Spain, or Gaul, or Germany, or Britain in the days of Rome? Did true constitutional liberty then exist? As the Roman Empire declined, her provinces, not instructed in the principles of free popular government, one after another declined also, and when Rome herself fell in the end, all fell together.

I have said, gentlemen, that our inheritance is an inheritance of American liberty. That liberty is characteristic, peculiar, and altogether our own. Nothing like it existed in former times, nor was known in the most enlightened States of antiquity; while with us its principles have become interwoven into the minds of individual men, connected with our daily opinions, and our daily habits, until it is, if I may so say, an element of social as well as of political life; and the consequence is, that to whatever region an American citizen carries himself, he takes with him, fully developed in his own understanding and experience, our American principles and opinions, and becomes ready at once, in co-operation with others, to apply them to the formation of new Governments. Of this a most wonderful instance may be seen in the history of the State of California.

On a former occasion I have ventured to remark that, "It is 'very difficult to establish a free conservative Government for 'the equal advancement of all the interests of society. What 'has Germany done; learned Germany, fuller of ancient lore than 'all the world beside? What has Italy done? What have they 'done who dwell on the spot where Cicero lived? They have 'not the power of self-government which a common town-meet-'ing, with us, possesses?" "Yes, I say, that those persons who 'have gone from our town-meetings to dig gold in California, are 'more fit to make a Republican Government than any body of 'men in Germany or Italy; because they have learned this one 'great lesson, that there is no security without law, and that, 'under the circumstances in which they are placed, where there 'is no military authority to cut their throats, there is no sovereign 'will but the will of the majority; that, therefore, if they remain, 'they must submit to that will." And this I believe to be strictly true.

Now, fellow-citizens, if your patience will hold out, I will venture, before proceeding to the more appropriate and particular duties of the day, to state, in a few words, what I take these American political principles in substance to be. They consist, as I think, in the first place, in the establishment of popular Governments, on the basis of representation; for it is plain that a pure democracy, like that which existed in some of the States of Greece, in which every individual had a direct vote in the enactment of all laws, cannot possibly exist in a country of wide extent. This representation is to be made as equal as circumstances will allow. Now, this principle of popular representation, prevailing either in all the branches of Governments, or in some of them, has existed in these States almost from the days of the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth; borrowed, no doubt, from the example of the popular branch of the British Legislature. The representation of the people in the British House of Commons was, indeed, originally very unequal, and is yet not equal. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the appearance of Knights and Burgesses assembling on the summons of the Crown, was not intended at first as an assistance and support to the Royal prerogative, in matters of revenue and taxation, rather than as a mode of ascertaining popular opinion. Nevertheless, representa-

tion had a popular origin, and savored more and more of the character of that origin, as it acquired, by slow degrees, greater and greater strength, in the actual government of the country. In fact, the constitution of the House of Commons was a form of representation, however unequal; numbers were counted, and majorities prevailed; and when our ancestors, acting upon this example, introduced more equality of representation, the idea assumed a more rational and distinct shape. At any rate, this manner of exercising popular power was familiar to our fathers when they settled on this continent. They adopted it, and generation has risen up after generation, all acknowledging it, and becoming acquainted with its practice and its forms.

And the next fundamental principle in our system is, that the will of the majority, fairly expressed through the means of representation, shall have the force of law; and it is quite evident that in a country without Thrones or Aristocracies or privileged castes or classes, there can be no other foundation for law to stand upon.

And, as the necessary result of this, the third element is, that the law is the supreme rule for the government of all. The great sentiment of Alcæus, so beautifully presented to us by Sir William Jones, is absolutely indispensable to the construction and maintenance of our political systems:

"What constitutes a State?
Not high rais'd battlements or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No—MEN, high-minded MEN,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forests, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rock and brambles rude:
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a State;
And SOVEREIGN LAW, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

And, finally, another most important part of the great fabric of American liberty is, that there shall be written constitutions, founded on the immediate authority of the people themselves, and regulating and restraining all the powers conferred upon Government, whether legislative, executive, or judicial.

This, fellow-citizens, I suppose to be a just summary of our American principles, and I have on this occasion sought to express them in the plainest and in the fewest words. The summary may not be entirely exact, but I hope it may be sufficiently so to make manifest to the rising generation among ourselves, and to those elsewhere, who may choose to inquire into the nature of our political institutions, the general theory upon which they are founded. And I now proceed to add, that the strong and deep-settled conviction of all intelligent persons amongst us is, that in order to support a useful and wise Government upon these popular principles, the general education of the people, and the wide diffusion of pure morality and true religion, are indispensable. Individual virtue is a part of public virtue. It is difficult to conceive how there can remain morality in the Government when it shall cease to exist among the people; or how the aggregate of the political institutions, all the organs of which consist only of men, should be wise, and beneficent, and competent to inspire confidence, if the opposite qualities belong to the individuals who constitute those organs, and make up that aggregate.

And now, fellow-citizens, I take leave of this part of the duty which I proposed to perform, and once more felicitating you and myself that our eyes have seen the light of this blessed morning, and that our ears have heard the shouts with which joyous thousands welcome its return, and joining with you in the hope that every revolving year shall renew these rejoicings to the end of time, I proceed to address you, shortly, upon the particular occasion of our assembling here to-day.

Fellow-citizens, by the act of Congress of 30th September, 1850, provision was made for the Extension of the Capitol, according to such plan as might be approved by the President of the United States, and the necessary sums to be expended, under his direction, by such architect as he might appoint. This measure was imperatively demanded for the use of the Legislative and Judiciary departments, the public libraries, the occasional accommo-

dation of the Chief Executive Magistrate, and for other objects. No act of Congress incurring a large expenditure has received more general approbation from the people. The President has proceeded to execute this law. He has approved a plan; he has appointed an architect; and all things are now ready for the commencement of the work.

The Anniversary of National Independence appeared to afford an auspicious occasion for laying the foundation-stone of the additional building. That ceremony has now been performed, by the President himself, in the presence and view of this multitude. He has thought that the day and the occasion made a united and imperative call for some short address to the people here assembled; and it is at his request that I have appeared before you to perform that part of the duty which was deemed incumbent on us.

Beneath the stone is deposited, among other things, a list of which will be published, the following brief account of the proceedings of this day, in my handwriting:

"On the morning of the first day of the Seventy-sixth year of 'the Independence of the United States of America, in the City of 'Washington, being the 4th day of July, 1851, this stone, designed 'as the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol, according to 'a plan approved by the President, in pursuance of an act of Con-'gress, was laid by

'MILLARD FILLMORE,

'PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

'assisted by the Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges, in 'the presence of many members of Congress, of officers of the 'Executive and Judiciary Departments, National, State, and 'District, of officers of the army and navy, the Corporate autho-'rities of this and neighboring cities, many associations, civil and 'military and masonic, officers of the Smithsonian Institution and 'National Institute, professors of colleges and teachers of schools 'of the District, with their students and pupils, and a vast con-'course of people from places near and remote, including a few 'surviving gentlemen who witnessed the laying of the corner-stone 'of the Capitol by President Washington, on the eighteenth day 'of September, seventeen hundred and ninety-three.

"If, therefore, it shall be hereafter the will of God that this 'structure shall fall from its base, that its foundation be upturned,

'and this deposit brought to the eyes of men, be it then known, 'that, on this day, the Union of the United States of America 'stands firm, that their Constitution still exists unimpaired, and 'with all its original usefulness and glory; growing every day 'stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the 'American people, and attracting more and more the admiration 'of the world. And all here assembled, whether belonging to 'public life or to private life, with hearts devoutly thankful to 'Almighty God for the preservation of the liberty and happiness 'of the country, unite in sincere and fervent prayers that this 'deposite, and the walls and arches, the domes and towers, the 'columns and entablatures now to be erected over it may endure 'forever!

"God save the United States of America.

"DANIEL WEBSTER,

"*Secretary of State of the United States.*"

Fellow-citizens: Fifty-eight years ago Washington stood on this spot to execute a duty like that which has now been performed. He then laid the corner-stone of the original Capitol. He was at the head of the Government, at that time weak in resources, burdened with debt, just struggling into political existence and respectability, and agitated by the heaving waves which were overturning European thrones. But even then, in many important respects, the Government was strong. It was strong in Washington's own great character; it was strong in the wisdom and patriotism of other eminent public men, his political associates and fellow-laborers; and it was strong in the affections of the people.

Since that time astonishing changes have been wrought in the condition and prospects of the American People; and a degree of progress witnessed with which the world can furnish no parallel. As we review the course of that progress, wonder and amazement arrest our attention at every step. The present occasion, although allowing of no lengthened remarks, may yet perhaps admit of a short comparative statement between important subjects of national interest as they existed at that day and as they now exist. I have adopted for this purpose the tabular form of statement, as being the most brief and the most accurate.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

	Year 1793.	Year 1851.
Number of States	15	31
Representatives and Senators in Congress	135	295
Population of the United States . . .	3,929,328	23,267,498
Population of Boston	18,038	136,871
Population of Baltimore	13,503	169,054
Population of Philadelphia	42,520	409,045
Population of New York (city) . . .	33,121	515,507
Population of Washington	. . . .	40,075
Population of Richmond	4,000	27,582
Population of Charleston	16,359	42,983
Amount of receipts into the Treasury	$5,720,624	$43,774,848
Amount of expenditures of the U. States	$7,529,575	$39,355,268
Amount of imports	$31,000,000	$178,138,318
Amount of exports	$26,109,000	$151,898,720
Amount of tonnage . . . . (tons)	520,764	3,535,454
Area of the U. States in square miles	805,461	3,314,365
Rank and file of the army	5,120	10,000
Militia (enrolled)	. . . .	2,006,456
Navy of the United States (vessels) .	(none.)	76
Navy armament (ordnance)	. . . .	2,012
Treaties and conventions with foreign Powers	9	90
Light-houses and light-boats. . . .	12	372
Expenditures for do.	$12,061	$529,265
Area of the Capitol.	one-half acre	$4\frac{1}{3}$ acres.
No. of miles of railroad in operation .	. . . .	10,287
Cost of ditto	. . . .	$306,607,954
No. of miles in course of construction	. . . .	10,092
Lines of telegraph, in miles	. . . .	15,000
Number of post offices	209	21,551
Number of miles of post route . . .	5,642	178,762
Amount of revenue from post offices .	$104,747	$5,592,971
Amount of expenditures of Post Office Department.	$72,040	$5,212,953
Number of miles mail transportation .	. . . .	46,541,423
Number colleges	19	121
Public libraries	35	694
Volumes in ditto	75,000	2,201,632
School libraries	. . . .	10,000
Volumes in ditto	. . . .	2,000,000
Emigrants from Europe to the U. S. .	10,000	299,610
Coinage at the Mint	$9,664	$52,019,465

In respect to the growth of Western trade and commerce, I extract a few sentences from a very valuable address before the Historical Society of Ohio, by William D. Gallagher, Esq., 1850:

"A few facts will exhibit as well as a volume the wonderful 'growth of Western trade and commerce. Previous to the year '1800, some eight or ten keel-boats, of twenty or twenty-five tons 'each, performed all the carrying trade between Cincinnati and 'Pittsburg. In 1802 the first Government vessel appeared on 'Lake Erie. In 1811 the first steamboat (the Orleans) was 'launched at Pittsburg. In 1826 the waters of Michigan were 'first ploughed by the keel of a steamboat, a pleasure trip to 'Green Bay being planned and executed in the summer of this 'year. In 1832 a steamboat first appeared at Chicago. At the 'present time the entire number of steamboats running on the 'Mississippi and Ohio, and their tributaries, is more probably over 'than under six hundred; the aggregate tonnage of which is not 'short of one hundred and forty thousand, a larger number of 'steamboats than England can claim, and a greater steam commercial marine than that employed by Great Britain and her 'dependencies."

And now, fellow-citizens, having stated to you this infallible proof of the growth and prosperity of the nation, I ask you, and I would ask every man, whether the Government which has been over us nas proved itself an affliction or a curse to the country, or any part of it?

Ye men of the South, of all the original Southern States, what say you to all this? Are you, or any of you, ashamed of this great work of your fathers? Your fathers were not they who stoned the prophets and killed them. They were among the prophets; they were of the prophets; they were themselves the prophets.

Ye men of Virginia, what do you say to all this? Ye men of the Potomac, dwelling along the shores of that river on which WASHINGTON lived, and died, and where his remains now rest, ye, so many of whom may see the domes of the Capitol from your own homes, what say ye?

Ye men of James river and the Bay, places consecrated by the early settlement of your commonwealth, what do you say? Do you desire, from the soil of your State, or as you travel to the

North, to see these halls vacated, their beauty and ornaments destroyed, and their national usefulness clean gone forever?

Ye men beyond the Blue Ridge, many thousands of whom are nearer to this Capitol than to the seat of government of your own State, what do you think of breaking this great association into fragments of States and of People? I know some of you, and I believe you all, would be almost as much shocked at the announcement of such a catastrophe as if you were to be informed that the Blue Ridge itself would soon totter from its base. And ye men of Western Virginia, who occupy the great slope from the top of the Alleghany to Ohio and Kentucky, what course do you propose to yourselves by disunion? If you "secede," what do you "secede" from, and what do you "accede" to? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change, and to bring you and your commerce to the tide-waters of Eastern rivers? What man in his senses can suppose that you will remain part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia should have ceased to be part and parcel of the United States?

The secession of Virginia! the secession of Virginia, whether alone or in company, is most improbable, the greatest of all improbabilities. Virginia, to her everlasting honor, acted a great part in framing and establishing the present Constitution. She has had her reward and her distinction. Seven of her noble sons have each filled the Presidency, and enjoyed the highest honors of the country. Dolorous complaints come up to us from the South that Virginia will not head the procession of secession, and lead the other Southern States out of the Union. This, if it should happen, would be something of a marvel, certainly, considering how much pains Virginia took to lead these same States into the Union, and considering, too, that she has partaken as largely of its benefits and its government as any other State.

And ye men of the other Southern States, members of the old thirteen; yes, members of the old thirteen; that always touches my regard and my sympathies; North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina! What page in your history, or in the history of any one of you, is brighter than those which have been recorded since the Union was formed? Or through what effect has your prosperity been greater, or your peace and happiness better secured? What names even has South Carolina, now so much dissatisfied,

what names has she of which her intelligent sons are more proud than those which have been connected with the Government of the United States? In revolutionary times, and in the earliest days of this Constitution, there was no State more honored, or more deserving to be honored. Where is she now? And what a fall is there, my countrymen! But I leave her to her own reflections, commending to her, with all my heart, the due consideration of her own example in times now gone by.

Fellow-citizens, there are some diseases of the mind as well as of the body, diseases of communities, as well as diseases of individuals, that must be left to their own cure; at least it is wise to leave them so, until the last critical moment shall arrive.

I hope it is not irreverent, and certainly it is not intended as reproach, when I say, that I know no stronger expression in our language than that which describes the restoration of a wayward son, "he came to himself." He had broken away from all the ties of love, family, and friendship. He had forsaken everything which he had once regarded in his father's house. He had quitted his natural sympathies, affections, and habits, and taken his journey into a far country. He had gone away from himself, and out of himself. But misfortunes overtook him, and famine threatened him with starvation and death. No entreaties from home followed him to beckon him back; no admonition from others warned him of his fate. But the hour of reflection had come, and nature and conscience wrought within him, until at length "he *came* to himself."

And now, ye men of the new States of the South! You are not of the original thirteen. The battle had been fought and won, the revolution achieved, and the Constitution established, before your States had any existence as States. You came to a prepared banquet, and had seats assigned you at table, just as honorable as those which were filled by older guests. You have been and are singularly prosperous; and if any one should deny this, you would at once contradict his assertion. You have bought vast quantities of choice and excellent land at the lowest price; and if the public domain has not been lavished upon you, you yourselves will admit that it has been appropriated to your own uses by a very liberal hand. And yet in some of these States, not in all, persons are found in favor of a dissolution of the Union,

or of secession from it. Such opinions are expressed even where the general prosperity of the community has been the most rapidly advanced. In the flourishing and interesting State of Mississippi, for example, there is a large party which insists that her grievances are intolerable, that the whole body politic is in a state of suffering, and all along, and through her whole extent on the Mississippi, a loud cry rings that her only remedy is "secession," "secession." Now, gentlemen, what infliction does the State of Mississippi suffer under? What oppression prostrates her strength or destroys her happiness? Before we can judge of the proper remedy we must know something of the disease; and, for my part, I confess that the real evil existing in the case appears to me to be a certain inquietude, or uneasiness, growing out of a high degree of prosperity and consciousness of wealth and power, which sometimes lead men to be ready for changes, and to push on to still higher elevation. If this be the truth of the matter, her political doctors are about right. If the complaint spring from over-wrought prosperity, for that disease I have no doubt that secession would prove a sovereign remedy.

But I return to the leading topic on which I was engaged. In the department of invention there have been wonderful applications of science to arts within the last sixty years. The spacious hall of the Patent Office is at once the repository and proof of American inventive art and genius. Their results are seen in the numerous improvements by which human labor is abridged.

Without going into details, it may be sufficient to say that many of the applications of steam to locomotion and manufactures; of electricity and magnetism to the production of mechanical motion; the electrical telegraph; the registration of astronomical phenomena; the art of multiplying engravings; the introduction and improvement among us of all the important inventions of the Old World, are strikingly indicative of the progress of this country in the useful arts.

The net-work of railroads and telegraph lines by which this vast country is reticulated have not only developed its resources, but united emphatically, in metallic bands, all parts of the Union.

The hydraulic works of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston surpass in extent and importance those of ancient Rome.

But we have not confined our attention to the immediate application of science to the useful arts. We have entered the field of original research, and have enlarged the bounds of scientific knowledge.

Sixty years ago, besides the brilliant discoveries of Franklin in electricity, scarcely anything had been done among us in the way of original discovery. Our men of science were content with repeating the experiments and diffusing a knowledge of the discoveries of the learned of the Old World, without attempting to add a single new fact or principle to the existing stock. Within the last twenty-five or thirty years a remarkable improvement has taken place in this respect. Our natural history has been explored in all its branches; our geology has been investigated with results of the highest interest to practical and theoretical science. Discoveries have been made in pure chemistry and electricity which have received the approbation of the world. The advance which has been made in meteorology in this country, within the last twenty years, is equal to that made during the same period in all the world besides.

In 1793 there was not in the United States an instrument with which a good observation of the heavenly bodies could be made. There are now instruments at Washington, Cambridge, and Cincinnati equal to those at the best European observatories, and the original discoveries in astronomy within the last five years in this country are among the most brilliant of the age. I can hardly refrain from saying, in this connexion, that the "celestial mechanics" of La Place has been translated and extended by Bowditch.

Our knowledge of the geography and topography of the American continent has been rapidly extended by the labor and science of the officers of the United States army, and discoveries of much interest in distant seas have resulted from the enterprise of the navy.

In 1807 a survey of the coast of the United States was commenced, which at that time it was supposed no American was competent to direct. The work has, however, grown within the last few years, under a native superintendent, in importance and extent beyond any enterprise of the kind ever before attempted.

These facts conclusively prove that a great advance has been made among us, not only in the application of science to the

wants of ordinary life, but to science itself, in its highest branches, in its adaptation to satisfy the cravings of the immortal mind.

In respect to literature, with the exception of some books of elementary education, and some theological treatises, of which scarcely any but those of Jonathan Edwards have any permanent value, and some works on local history and politics, like Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, the Federalist, Belknap's New Hampshire, and Morse's Geography, and a few others, America had not produced a single work of any repute in literature. We were almost wholly dependant on imported books. Even our Bibles and Testaments were, for the most part, printed abroad. The book trade is now one of the greatest branches of business, and many works of standard value and of high reputation in Europe as well as at home have been produced by American authors in every department of literary composition.

While the country has been expanding in dimensions, in numbers, and in wealth, the Government has applied a wise forecast in the adoption of measures necessary, when the world shall no longer be at peace, to maintain the national honor, whether by appropriate displays of vigor abroad, or by well adapted means of defence at home. A navy, which has so often illustrated our history by heroic achievements, though restrained in peaceful times in its operations to narrow limits, possesses, in its admirable elements, the means of great and sudden expansion, and is justly looked upon by the nation as the right arm of its power: an army, still smaller, but not less perfect in its detail, which has on many a field exhibited the military aptitudes and prowess of the race, and demonstrated the wisdom which has presided over its organization and government.

While the gradual and slow enlargement of these respective military arms has been regulated by a jealous watchfulness over the public treasure, there has, nevertheless, been freely given all that was needed to perfect their quality; and each affords the nucleus of any enlargement that the public exigencies may demand, from the millions of brave hearts and strong arms upon the land and water.

The navy is the active and aggressive element of national defence; and, let loose from our own seacoast, must display its power in the seas and channels of the enemy: to do this, it need

not be large; and it can never be large enough to defend by its presence at home all our ports and harbors. But, in the absence of the navy, what can the regular army or the volunteer militia do against the enemy's line-of-battle ships and steamers, falling without notice upon our coast? What will guard our cities from tribute, our merchant vessels and our navy-yards from conflagration? Here, again, we see a wise forecast in the system of defensive measures, which, especially since the close of the war with Great Britain, has been steadily followed by our Government.

While the perils from which our great establishments had just escaped were yet fresh in remembrance, a system of fortifications was begun, which now, though not quite complete, fences in our important points with impassable strength. More than four thousand cannon may at any moment, within strong and permanent works, arranged with all the advantages and appliances that the art affords, be turned to the protection of the sea coast, and be served by the men whose hearths they shelter. Happy for us that it is so, since these are means of security that time alone can supply; and since the improvements of maritime warfare, by making distant expeditions easy and speedy, have made them more probable, and at the same time more difficult to anticipate and provide against. The cost of fortifying all the important points on our whole Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico frontier will not exceed the amount expended on the fortifications of Paris.

In this connexion one most important facility in the defence of the country is not to be overlooked; it is the almost instantaneous rapidity with which the soldiers of the army, and any number of the militia corps, may be brought to any point where a hostile attack may at any time be made or threatened.

And this extension of territory, embraced within the United States, increase of its population, commerce and manufactures, development of its resources by canals and railroads, and rapidity of intercommunication by means of steam and electricity, have all been accomplished without overthrow of or danger to the public liberties, by any assumption of military power; and, indeed, without any permanent increase of the army, except for the purpose of frontier defence, and of affording a slight guard to the

public property; or of the navy, any further than to assure the navigator that, in whatsoever sea he shall sail his ship, he is protected by the stars and stripes of his country. And this, too, has been done without the shedding of a drop of blood, for treason or rebellion; while systems of popular representation have regularly been supported in the State Governments and in the General Government; while laws, national and State, of such a character have been passed, and have been so wisely administered, that I may stand up here to-day and declare, as I now do declare, in the face of all the intelligent of the age, that for the period which has elapsed, from the day that Washington laid the foundation of this Capitol to the present time, there has been no country upon earth in which life, liberty, and property have been more amply and steadily secured, or more freely enjoyed, than in these United States of America. Who is there that will deny this? Who is there prepared with a greater or a better example? Who is there that can stand upon the foundation of facts, acknowledged or proved, and assert that these our republican institutions have not answered the true ends of Government beyond all precedent in human history?

There is yet another view. There are still higher considerations. Man is an intellectual being, destined to immortality. There is a spirit in him, and the breath of the Almighty hath given him understanding. Then only is he tending toward his own destiny, while he seeks for knowledge or virtue, for the will of his Maker, and for just conceptions of his own duty. Of all important questions, therefore, let this, the most important of all, be first asked and first answered: in what country of the habitable globe, of great extent and large population, are the means of knowledge the most generally diffused and enjoyed among the people? This question admits of one, and only one, answer. It is here; it is here in these United States; it is among the descendants of those who settled at Jamestown; of those who were pilgrims on the shore of Plymouth; and of those other races of men, who, in subsequent times, have become joined in this great American family. Let one fact incapable of doubt or dispute satisfy every mind on this point. The population of the United States is 23,000,000. Now, take the map of the continent of Europe and spread it out before you. Take your scale and your

dividers, and lay off in one area, in any shape you please, a triangle, square, circle, parallelogram, or trapezoid, and of an extent that shall contain 150,000,000 of people, and there will be found within the United States more persons who do habitually read and write than can be embraced within the lines of your demarcation.

But there is something even more than this. Man is not only an intellectual, but he is also a religious being, and his religious feelings and habits require cultivation.

Let the religious element in man's nature be neglected, let him be influenced by no higher motives than low self-interest, and subjected to no stronger restraint than the limits of civil authority, and he becomes the creature of selfish passions or blind fanaticism.

The spectacle of a nation powerful and enlightened, but without christian faith, has been presented, almost within our own day, as a warning beacon for the nations.

On the other hand, the cultivation of the religious sentiment represses licentiousness, incites to general benevolence, and the practical acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man, inspires respect for law and order, and gives strength to the whole social fabric, at the same time that it conducts the human soul upward to the Author of its being.

Now, I think it may be stated with truth, in no country, in proportion to its population, are there so many benevolent establishments connected with religious instruction, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, supported by public and private contributions, as in our own. There are also institutions for the education of the blind, of idiots, the deaf and dumb, the reception of orphan and destitute children, for moral reform, designed for children and females respectively; and institutions for the reformation of criminals, not to speak of those numerous establishments in almost every county and town in the United States for the reception of the aged, infirm, and destitute poor, many of whom have fled to our shores to escape the poverty and wretchedness of their condition at home.

In the United States there is no church establishment or ecclesiastical authority founded by Government. Public worship is maintained either by voluntary associations and contributions, or by trusts and donations of a charitable origin.

Now, I think it safe to say that a greater portion of the people of the United States attend public worship, decently clad, well behaved, and well seated, than of any other country of the civilized world.

Edifices of religion are seen every where. Their aggregate cost would amount to an immense sum of money. They are, in the general, kept in good repair, and consecrated to the purposes of public worship. In these edifices the people regularly assemble on the Sabbath day, which is sacredly set apart for rest by all classes from secular employment, and for religious meditation and worship, to listen to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and discourses from pious ministers of the several denominations.

This attention to the wants of the intellect and of the soul, as manifested by the voluntary support of schools and colleges, of churches, and benevolent institutions, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the American people, not less strikingly exhibited in the new than in the older settlements of the country.

On the spot where the first trees of the forest were felled, near the log cabins of the pioneers, are to be seen rising together the church and the school house. So has it been from the beginning, and God grant that it may thus continue!

> "On other shores, above their mouldering towns,
> In sullen pomp the tall cathedral frowns;
> Simple and frail, our lowly temples throw
> Their slender shadows on the paths below;
> Scarce steal the winds, that sweep the woodland tracks,
> The larch's perfume from the settler's axe,
> 'Ere, like a vision of the morning air,
> His slight-framed steeple marks the house of prayer.
> Yet Faith's pure hymn, beneath its shelter rude,
> Breathes out as sweetly to the tangled wood,
> As where the rays through blazing oriels pour
> On marble shaft and tessellated floor."

Who does not admit that this unparalleled growth in prosperity and renown is the result, under Providence, of the Union of these States, under a general Constitution, which guaranties to each State a republican form of Government, and to every man the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from civil tyranny or ecclesiastical domination?

And to bring home this idea to the present occasion, who does not feel that, when President Washington laid his hand on the foundation of the first Capitol building, he performed a great work of perpetuation of the Union and the Constitution? Who does not feel that this seat of the General Government, healthful in its situation, central in its position, near the mountains from whence gush springs of wonderful virtue, teeming with Nature's richest products, and yet not far from the bays and the great estuaries of the sea, easily accessible and generally agreeable in climate and association, does give strength to the Union of these States; that this city, bearing an immortal name, with its broad streets and avenues, its public squares and magnificent edifices of the General Government, erected for the purposes of carrying on within them the important business of the several Departments; for the reception of wonderful and curious inventions, the preservation of the records of American learning and genius; of extensive collections of the products of nature and art, brought hither for study and comparison from all parts of the world; adorned with numerous churches, and sprinkled over, I am happy to say, with many public schools, where all children of the city, without distinction, are provided with the means of obtaining a good education; where there are academies and colleges, professional schools and public libraries, should continue to receive, as it has heretofore received, the fostering care of Congress, and should be regarded as the permanent seat of the National Government. Here, too, a citizen of the great republic of letters, a republic which knows not the metes and bounds of political geography, has prophetically indicated his conviction that America is to exercise a wide and powerful influence in the intellectual world, by founding in this city, as a commanding position in the field of science and literature, and placing under the guardianship of the Government, an institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

With each succeeding year new interest is added to the spot; it becomes connected with all the historical associations of our country, with her statesmen and her orators, and, alas! its cemetery is annually enriched with the ashes of her chosen sons.

Before us is the broad and beautiful river, separating two of the original thirteen States, and which a late President, a man of de-

termined purpose and inflexible will, but patriotic heart, desired to span with arches of ever-enduring granite, symbolical of the firmly cemented union of the North and the South. That President was General Jackson.

On its banks repose the ashes of the Father of his Country, and at our side, by a singular felicity of position, overlooking the city which he designed, and which bears his name, rises to his memory the marble column, sublime in its simple grandeur, and fitly intended to reach a loftier height than any similar structure on the surface of the whole earth.

Let the votive offerings of his grateful countrymen be freely contributed to carry higher and still higher this monument. May I say, as on another occasion, "Let it rise; let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit!"

Fellow-citizens, what contemplations are awakened in our minds as we assemble here to re-enact a scene like that performed by WASHINGTON! Methinks I see his venerable form now before me, as presented in the glorious statue by Houdon, now in the capitol of Virginia. He is dignified and grave; but concern and anxiety seem to soften the lineaments of his countenance. The Government over which he presides is yet in the crisis of experiment. Not free from troubles at home, he sees the world in commotion and in arms all around him. He sees that imposing foreign Powers are half disposed to try the strength of the recently-established American Government. We perceive that mighty thoughts, mingled with fears as well as with hopes, are struggling within him. He heads a short procession over these then naked fields; he crosses yonder stream on a fallen tree; he ascends to the top of this eminence, whose original oaks of the forest stand as thick around him as if the spot had been devoted to Druidical worship, and here he performs the appointed duty of the day.

And now, fellow-citizens, if this vision were a reality; if Washington actually were now amongst us, and if he could draw around him the shades of the great public men of his own days, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen, and were to address us in their presence, would he not say to us, "Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our

labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful; the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while DUTY and the LAW restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty, as you love it; cherish its securities as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the Constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country, and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern World follow the morning sun to contemplate you as a nation; so shall all generations honor you, as they honor us; and so shall that Almighty Power which so graciously protected us, and which now protects you, shower its everlasting blessings upon you and your posterity."

Great father of your country! we heed your words; we feel their force as if you now uttered them with lips of flesh and blood. Your example teaches us, your affectionate addresses teach us, your public life teaches us your sense of the value of the blessings of the Union. Those blessings our fathers have tasted, and we have tasted, and still taste. Nor do we intend that those who come after us shall be denied the same high fruition. Our honor as well as our happiness is concerned. We cannot, we dare not, we will not betray our sacred trust. We will not filch from posterity the treasure placed in our hands to be transmitted to other generations. The bow that gilds the clouds in the heavens, the pillars that uphold the firmament, may disappear and fall away in the hour appointed by the will of God; but until that day comes, or so long as our lives may last, no ruthless hand shall undermine that bright arch of Union and Liberty which spans the continent from Washington to California.

Fellow-citizens, we must sometimes be tolerant to folly, and patient at the sight of the extreme waywardness of men; but I confess that when I reflect on the renown of our past history, on our present prosperity and greatness, and on what the future hath yet to unfold; and when I see that there are men who can find in all this nothing good, nothing valuable, nothing truly glorious, I feel that all their reason has fled away from them, and left the entire control over their judgment and their actions to

insanity and fanaticism ; and, more than all, fellow-citizens, if the purposes of fanatics and disunionists should be accomplished, the patriotic and intelligent of our generation would seek to hide themselves from the scorn of the world, and go about to find dishonorable graves.

Fellow-citizens, take *courage;* be of *good cheer.* We shall come to no such ignoble end. We shall live, and not die. During the period allotted to our several lives we shall continue to rejoice in the return of this Anniversary. The ill-omened sounds of fanaticism will be hushed; the ghastly spectres of *Secession* and *Disunion* will disappear, and the enemies of united constitutional liberty, if their hatred cannot be appeased, may prepare to sear their eyeballs as they behold the steady flight of the American Eagle, on his burnished wings, for years and years to come.

President Fillmore, it is your singularly good fortune to perform an act such as that which the earliest of your predecessors performed fifty-eight years ago. You stand where he stood; you lay your hand on the corner-stone of a building designed greatly to extend that whose corner-stone he laid. Changed, changed is every thing around. The same sun, indeed, shone upon his head which now shines upon yours. The same broad river rolled at his feet, and bathes his last resting place, that now rolls at yours. But the site of this city was then mainly an open field. Streets and avenues have since been laid out and completed, squares and public grounds enclosed and ornamented, until the city which bears his name, although comparatively inconsiderable in numbers and wealth, has become quite fit to be the seat of government of a great and united people.

Sir, may the consequences of the duty which you perform so auspiciously to-day equal those which flowed from his act. Nor this only; may the principles of your administration, and the wisdom of your political conduct, be such as that the world of the present day, and all history hereafter, may be at no loss to perceive what example you have made your study.

Fellow-citizens, I now bring this address to a close, by expressing to you, in the words of the great Roman orator, the deepest wish of my heart, and which I know dwells deeply in the hearts of all who hear me: "Duo modó hæc opto; unum, ut moriens 'populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus a diis im-

'mortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut 'de republicâ quisque mereatur."

And now, fellow-citizens, with hearts void of hatred, envy, and malice towards our own countrymen, or any of them, or towards the subjects or citizens of other Governments, or towards any member of the great family of man; but exulting, nevertheless, in our own peace, security, and happiness, in the grateful remembrance of the past, and the glorious hopes of the future, let us return to our homes, and with all humility and devotion offer our thanks to the Father of all our mercies, political, social, and religious.

The following letter, received a few days after the delivery of the foregoing Address, from one of the surviving gentlemen who witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol, by President Washington, will be read with interest:

BOSTON, *July* 8, 1851.

MY HONORED SIR: I cannot well refrain from thus thanking you for your Address, at the Metropolis, on the 4th inst., which I have read from the newspapers. It has carried me back to that scene so happily adverted to by you, of which I was a witness, on the 18th of September, 1793, when in boyhood.

The cavalcade on the morning of that day, was formed at Suter's Tavern, in Georgetown, three miles from the spot where WASHINGTON, in person, officiated at the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the Capitol; that day I remember, was clear sunshine, and very hot for the season. After the ceremony was over, a large company returned to Suter's to partake of a dinner, prepared for the occasion, and where a most joyous entertainment was realized. Living just opposite the dinner-place, I had an opportunity to observe some of the most prominent of the company, viz: the City Commissioners; Ellicott, the surveyor; Major Benjamin Stoddert, afterwards Secretary of the Navy; Col. Uriah Forrest, a Revolutionary officer, who had lost a leg in the battle of Brandywine; Gen. Lingan, the then Collector of the Port of Georgetown, and who several years after was massacred by the mob in Baltimore, a memorable and hateful period of party strife; Robert Peters, the father of Thomas Peters, who married one of Lady Washington's grand daughters; Col. William Deakins, one of the best esteemed gentlemen in the State of Maryland, with many others I could name; they all, with WASHINGTON, sat down at the full board on that joyous occasion. I heard one of the company after dinner remark, that "Washington himself was most happy." To take a retrospect of fifty-eight years, and have that scene, with its present connections, so well expressed, as your words have done it, is to me intensely interesting, and I shall, therefore, make no apology for thus intruding upon your time.

We all see, that all which the most sanguine of dreams, or the inspired *prophecy of the poet* could suggest, has been realized. I have only to regret, sir, that I was not there to have joined the few remaining survivors who had also been present at the former celebration.

I am, respectfully and truly,

Your obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LUNT.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, *Washington, D. C.*

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED

BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES

OF THE

CITY OF BOSTON,

JULY 4, 1842.

BY HORACE MANN.

Fellow-Citizens,—It is meet that we should assemble to mingle our congratulations in public, on the recurrence of this Anniversary. The celebration of festival days in honor of illustrious progenitors is a universal fact in human history. It therefore proves the existence of a universal sentiment in human nature, which finds its appropriate utterance in such commemorations. This is a sentiment of gratitude and reverence towards the great and good; and it is honorable both to author and object. Under the impulse of these feelings, the heroes of ancient times were deified by their descendents. To consecrate their memory, sculpture reared statues and shrines. Architecture built monuments and temples. Poetry hymned their praises. Eloquence and its responsive acclamations made the arches of heaven resound with their fame; and even the sober muse of history, dazzled by the brilliancy of their exploits, exaggerated fact into fiction, until the true was lost in the fabulous.

In our day, this sentiment is modified but not extinguished. All modern nations celebrate the anniversary of those days, when their annals were illuminated, or their perilled fortunes rescued, by some grand historic achievement.

The universality and unbroken continuity of these observances seem prophetic of their continuance.

But it is especially worthy of remark, that these public and joyous tributes are paid only to propitious events, or magnanimous deeds,—to what is grand in conception, or glorious in achievement. No days are set apart to commemorate national disaster or ignominy for its own sake. The good only is celebrated. The base, the cowardly, whether in motive or in action, is consigned, through silence, to oblivion.

What a lesson is here, were we so teachable as to learn it! How soon will our position be changed from that of posterity to ancestors; and the strict rules by which we honor or despise predecessors, be applied to us by impartial descendants. Whatever of true, generous, or morally heroic, is wrought out by us, shall be gratefully embalmed in the memories of men; and around millions of firesides, many millions of hearts shall leap with joy at its oft-recurring narration. But what is sordid, perfidious,—a perversion of public good to private ends,—shall be scoffed and hissed at; and its happiest fate shall be an early forgetfulness.

It is, indeed, an impressive thought,—one full of the deepest significancy,—that throughout this vast country, over all its degrees of latitude and longitude, and on the seas which bind the globe in their azure and glorious cincture,—soon as the beams of this morning's sun gilded spire or mast-head, the shout of exultation and the peal of artillery arose, and sweeping onward and westward like the tidal wave, they are now circuiting the globe, in honor of those heroes and martyrs who, only sixty-six years ago, pledged 'fortune, life, and sacred honor' to establish the Independence of these United States. How many times has this story been rehearsed, and yet to the patriot's ear, it never grows old. How curiously has the history of that great revolutionary epoch been investigated; and even now, if some minute of a council—whether of war or of state—held at midnight; some memorandum of an order given at a critical juncture; or some hitherto elusive letter, can be found among the records of our government, or pursued across the ocean and drawn from its lurking-place in British or French archives, it is published, read and reiterated by all, and the original is prized, almost like the relic of a saint among the faithful. And all those doings and achievements were less than seventy

years ago,—less than the period allotted by the Psalmist to the life of man. Nay, some of the actors in those scenes are amongst us still; and we have proof of the reality not from their lips merely, but honorable scars are their credentials — the hieroglyphs wherein the sacred history is chronicled. Not only have we the mausoleums of battle-fields. but every church-yard in New England is thickly strown with the graves of the heroic dead, whose simple inscriptions,—nobler than armorial bearings,—proclaim that they sought toil as a pleasure and rejoiced in self-sacrifice, that they might do good to us, whom they saw only with the eye of faith.

And yet, let me again say, how obvious it is that we stand in the same relation to posterity that our ancestors do to us. And, as we boldly summon our forefathers to our tribunal for adjudication upon their conduct, so will our conduct be brough into judgment by our successors. Each generation has duties of its own to perform; and our duties, though widely different from theirs, are not less important in their character, or less binding in their obligations. It was their duty to found or establish our institutions, and nobly did they perform it. It is our duty to perfect and perpetuate these institutions; and the most solemn question which can be propounded to this age, is, are we performing it nobly? Shall posterity look back upon our present rulers, as we look back upon Arnold, or as we look back upon Washington? Shall posterity look back upon us, as we look back upon the recreants who sought to make Washington Dictator, and would have turned those arms against their country, which had been put into their hands to save her?—or shall posterity look back upon us with the heart-throbbings, the tears and passionate admiration, with which we regard the Savior-like martyrs who, for our welfare, in lonely dungeons and prison-ships, breathing a noisome atmosphere—their powerful and robust frames protracting their tortures beyond the common endurence of nature—and when the minions of power came round, day after day, and offered them life and freedom and a glad return to the upper air, if they would desert their country's cause—refused, and died.

I have said that it is our especial and appropriate duty to perfect and perpetuate the institutions we have received. I am aware that this has been said for the last fifty years, thousands of times every year. I do not reiterate the sentiment, therefore, for its originality; nor even for its importance; but for the sake of inquiring,—in what manner this work is to be done? It has long seemed to me that it would be more honorable to our ancestors, to praise them, in words, less; but in deeds, to imitate them more. If from their realms of blessedness, they could address us, would they not say? 'Prove the sincerity of your words, by imitating the examples you profess to admire. The inheritance we left you is worthless, unless you have inherited the spirit also by which it was acquired. The boon we would bequeath to the latest posterity, can never reach and bless them, save through your hands. In these spiritual abodes, whence all disturbing passions are excluded, where all illusions are purged from our eyes, we can neither be beguiled nor flattered by lip-service. Deeds are the only language we understand; and one act of self-sacrifice for the welfare of mankind is more acceptable to us than if you should make every mountain and hill-top a temple to hallow our names, and gather thither the whole generation as worshippers.'

Such is the spirit in which I believe our sainted fathers would admonish us. But alas! for the holiday patriot! it is so much easier to praise and get up jubilees than it is *to work*;—it is so much pleasanter to encore a song, than to enlist for a campaign with its privations and diseases and death;—this indoor declamation and psalm-singing so much better befit the nice and dainty sentimentalist, than to go forth into the conflict, and year after year, to wrestle with difficulties, as with an angel of God, until Heaven yields to the importunacy of our struggles what it denied to the formality of our prayers!—all this poetic contemplation of duty is so much easier and cheaper than its stern performance, that we are in perpetual danger of degenerating from effort and self-sacrifice into ceremony and cant.

Were a stranger to come amongst us, and to hear our National Songs, our Fourth of July Orations, and Caucus Speeches, he would say, 'Verily, there never were such patriots as these since the days of Thermopylæ.' But were he to remain with us, and become familiar with the spirit of ambition and self-seeking that afflicts us, if he thought any more of Thermopylæ, it would be, not of the Spartans, but of Xerxes and his plundering invaders.

Fellow-citizens, we have sterner duties to perform than to assemble here annually, to listen to glorifications of our great country and our great people, of our super-Ciceronian and super Demosthenean orators, and to praise poetry and art and genius that are to be, at sometime; and then, after refreshing ourselves with feast and jovial song, to close the day with some gairish show, and forthwith to vote ourselves upon the pension list, for the residue of the year, in consideration of such meritorious services. The quiet seat of an honorary member in our community, is not so easily won. Trusts, responsibilities, interests, vaster in amount, more sacred in character, than ever before in the providence of God were committed to any people, have been committed to us. The great experiment of Republicanism—of the capacity of man for self-government—is to be tried anew, which wherever it has been tried,—in Greece, in Rome, in Italy—has failed, through an incapacity in the people to enjoy liberty without abusing it. Another trial is to be made, whether mankind will enjoy more and suffer less, under the ambition and rapacity of an irresponsible parliament, or of irresponsible parties;—under an hereditary sovereign who

must, at least, prove his right to destroy, by showing his birth, or under mobs, which are like wild beasts, that prove their right to devour by showing their teeth. A vacant continent is here to be filled up with innumerable millions of human beings, who may be happy through our wisdom, but must be miserable through our folly. Religion—the ark of God —which, of old times, was closed that it might not be profaned—is here thrown open to all, whether Christian, Jew or Pagan; and yet is to be guarded from desecration and sacrilege, lest we perish with a deeper perdition than ever befel any other people.

These are some of the interests committed to our keeping;—these are some of the duties we have to discharge. These duties, too, are to be discharged by a people, who are liable to alienation from each other by all those natural jealousies which spring from sectional interests, from discordant local institutions, from differences in climate, language, and ancestry. We are exposed to the jealousies which bad men—or which good men, whose knowledge is disproportioned to their zeal, may engender amongst us. And, on many questions of equal delicacy and magnitude, are we not already armed and marshalled against each other, rather than allied and sworn for common protection?

In this exigency, I affirm that we need far more of wisdom and rectitude than we possess. Preparations for our present condition have been so long neglected that we now have a double duty to perform. We have not only to propitiate to our aid a host of good spirits, but we have to exorcise a host of evil ones. Every aspect of our affairs, public and private, demonstrates that we need, for their successful management, a vast accession to the common stock of intelligence and virtue. But intelligence and virtue are the product of cultivation and training. They do not spring up spontaneously. As yet, all Utopias belong to fiction and not to history; and these fictions have so little verisimilitude that ages have passed since the last one was written. We need, therefore, unexampled alacrity and energy in the application of all those influences and means which promise the surest and readiest returns of wisdom and probity, both public and private.

This is my subject on the present occasion; —a demonstration that our existing means for the promotion of intelligence and virtue are wholly inadequate to the support of a Republican government. If the facts I have to offer should abate something from our national vain-glory and presumption, I hope they may add as much to national prudence and forethought.

The sovereignty of a great nation is surely one of the most precious of earthly trusts. The happiness or misery which a government dispenses, has dimension in two directions —depth, as well as superficial extent. It not only reaches widely around, amongst contemporaries; but far downwards, among ages consisting of many millions—depends upon the administration of a government—there is something sublime and awful in the mere contemplation of the interests committed to rulers; and we see the reasonableness of the requsition that they should rule in righteousness.

Without going any deeper into the philosophy of the subject than the mere considerations of these two facts—the progressive increase of the human family, and the stationary size of the planet on which they reside—that is, the impossibility of our pulling down and building greater, for the race, as we would to meet the wants of an enlarging household; I think we are authorized to infer that it was the design of God at the creation that men should live together in large companies or communities. As the race multiplies, and the *un-enlargeable* tenement becomes crowded, mankind must obviously live together, either as social beings, or as cannibals—for mutual improvement, or for mutual sustenance. And though the theory of the latter relation would derive much support from history, yet it seems to me clear that the former is the will of Heaven.

If then, men live together as a people or nation in a social capacity, there must obviously be some exposition or expression of the national will, in a system of laws, more or less definite, for common guidance.

But it would always be impossible that the first Legislature should foresee and provide for all future contingencies; and hence the necessity of a perpetual succession of Legislatures to supply defects, and to meet emergencies as they arise. But again; laws are general, while all the cases arising under them are particular;—and therefore, government must exercise another function,—that of expounding and applying the law. This function is Judicial, and wholly different from the Legislative. The latter declares, generally, what the rule shall be; the former, specifically, to what cases or circumstances the rule shall be applied. And once more;—the law, as it comes from the Legislature, and the decision, as it comes from the Court, have no inherent, self-executing power. The parchment on which they are written, would moulder and crumble, and leave no vestige behind, if the government had not also been vested with an Executive power—the power of execution—the prerogative of making things to be, as the Legislature and the Court have said they ought to be. It is obvious, then, that the simplest government has various attributes; and if Heaven has ordained the existence of human government, it must also have ordained the existence and exercise of this variety of attributes.

And further, I deem it no unauthorized assumption, to claim as a postulate—a point to be conceded in the outset,—at least by all who are not atheists—that, as God is a being

edge and virtue. He could neither have created nor ordained aught in violation of his own nature. He could not have created any race of intellectual and moral beings, standing in such relations to each other, that universal selfishness and false knowledge should result in the public good. And this we may affirm not only of all things which now exist, but of all things which may spring from present existences. For the goodness and wisdom of the Creator are not limited to those things which we see and understand, but they exist every where;—just as the beautiful rainbow of the summer shower is not confined to the bright arch which gladdens our eyes, but glows wherever sunbeam and rain-drop meet, and only needs an eye rightly placed, in order to be seen.

If then God made man a social being, and therefore made it necessary that he should live in a community with his fellows, and that this community should have laws binding them together, as one moral entity; He made it also necessary that these laws should be founded in wisdom and equity, and observed with fidelity; and every departure from these great principles, either in the formation or the observance of the laws, must be followed, inevitably, by a corresponding degree of loss and harm. This is as obvious, as that a machine must be operated according to the principles of its construction. The operator must have so much of the inventor's mind, as to work the machine on the inventor's plan. The application of a divergent force will at least impair its working—of a counter-force, will destroy it. It is solely through a departure from these principles of wisdom and goodness, that mankind have suffered miseries which history cannot record nor imagination conceive. The civil tyrant has cast nations, as one man, into his fiery alembic, that from the happiness of them all, he might distil one drop to stimulate his foulest appetites; and the ecclesiastical tyrant, not content with robbing mankind of the precious blessings and joys of religion on earth, has carried his spoliations into eternity. In this western world, a portion of the race have reclaimed their freedom; but this is not a freedom to disobey the laws of our nature, or to exempt ourselves from their penalties when broken. It is simply a freedom to use our own reason in attempting to discover what those laws are, and our own free-will in obeying them; and thus to perform the conditions, under which alone, a rational and free being can fulfil his destiny.

It is impiety towards the memory of our fathers to suppose that they contended merely for the transfer of the source of misgovernment from one side of the Atlantic to the other. If we were to be governed forever by ignorance and profligacy, it mattered little whether that ignorance and profligacy should reside in King George, or in King Numbers—only as the latter king being much stronger than the former, and subject to the ferocity without the imbecility of madness, is capable of committing far wider havoc upon human welfare than the former. A voter may go to the polls with as light a feeling of responsibility to God and man, or with passions as vindictive, as ever actuated the British ministry when they passed the Stamp-act, or denounced Adams and Hancock as traitors, and gloated, in imagination, over their quartered bodies. No! Our fathers gave their pledge of 'fortune, life and sacred honor,' and redeemed it to the letter, that here, on this broad theatre of a continent which spread around them, and with time before them, their descendents might work out that glorious destiny for mankind—that regeneration, that deliverance from the fetters of iron which had bound the body, and from the fetters of error that had bound the soul—which the prophets and apostles of liberty, in all ages, had desired to see, but had not seen.

I have said that all governments, even the despotic or autocratic, must exercise three distinct functions, the Legislative, Judicial and Executive; and that to administer any government, fitly and according to its plan, it requires a certain amount of capacity, and responsibleness to right. And no government whatever,—Russia, Turkey, Algiers,—can be so simple as not to include these three attributes, in the last analysis.

But it is most important to observe further, that whatever adds to the complexity of any system of government, increases the difficulties and hazards of administering it, and multiplies and heightens the temptations to abuse. Hence the obvious necessity, with any augmentation of difficulties and dangers, of additional wisdom and rectitude, as guaranties against failure.

To apply this remark: however simple our government may be in theory, it has proved in practice, the most complex government on earth. It is now an historical fact, that more questions for legislative interposition, and for judicial exposition and construction, have arisen under it, during the period of its existence, ten to one, than have arisen, during the same length of time, under any other form of government in Christendom. We are a Union made up of twenty-six States,—a nation composed of twenty six nations;—and even beyond the bounds of these, the Federal head is responsible for the fate of several vast territories, and of numerous Indian tribes. Amongst the component States, there is the greatest variety of customs, institutions and religions. We have the deeper, inbred differences of different ancestry and language; for our people are of the lineage of all nations. Our pursuits for gaining subsistence are various; and such is the diversity of soil and climate, that they must always continue to be so. One portion is agricultural, another manufacturing. In one section, the natural productions of the earth, in forests above the the surface or in minerals beneath it, are inexhaustibly rich; while of the natural productions of another region, it has been graphically said, that they consist of 'granite and ice.' This region is the New England El Dorado—whose 'granite and ice,' however, are turned into gold, by industry and enter-

prise. Across the very centre of our territory, a line is drawn, on one side of which all labor is voluntary; while, on the opposite side, the system of involuntary labor, or servitude prevails. This is a fearful element of repugnance—penetrating not only through all social, commercial and political relations, but into natural ethics and religion.

In addition to the multitude of questions for decision, is the mode of deciding them. This, indeed, is the grand distinctive feature of our government. The questions which arise for decision, are submitted, not to one man, nor to a triumvirate, nor to a Council of Five Hundred, but to millions. The number of votes given at the last presidential election, was nearly two millions and a half. When the appointed day for making the decision arrives, the question must be decided, whether the previous preparation which has been made for it, be much, or little, or none at all. And, what is extraordinary, each voter helps to decide the question as much by not voting as by voting. If the question is so vast or complicated that any one has not time to make up his mind in relation to it; or if any one is too conscientious to act from conjecture, in a case of magnitude, and therefore stays from the polls, another, who has no scruples about acting ignorantly or from caprice or malevolence, votes; and, in the absence of the former, decides the question against the right.

The founders of our government, indeed, intended to increase the responsibility, by limiting the number of its depositaries in the last resort. Hence, in framing the Constitution, they gave a two years' tenure of office to the Representatives, one of six years to Senators, and of four years to the President; and in their contemporaneous expositions of that instrument, they declared that the incumbents of these offices, during their official term, should act according to their own best knowledge and ability, irrespective of the vacillations of party, or the gusts of popular clamor. Indeed, so runs the oath of office—no provision being made—no saving clause being inserted—allowing a man to vote any way and all ways, according to any change among his constituents, or the bearing of his vote upon his next election.

But, through the practice of extorting pledges from a candidate before the election; though the doctrine or right of instruction, as it is called, while one continues in office; and emphatically, by the besom of destruction with which a man, who dares to act in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment and conscience, against the will or whim of his constituents, is swept into political annihilation, the theoretical independence of the Representative—Senator—President—is, to a great extent, abrogated. Instead of holding their offices for two, six, and four years, respectively, they are minute men; and many of them examine each mail to see what their oaths mean, until the arrival of the next.

Even this representation is faint and inadequate. The most conscientious men, in one State or place, are liable to be catechised out of office, or superseded for performing their duty in it, by one party; while, in another State or place, others are subjected to the same fate, for belonging conscientiously, to the opposite party. It actually happened, a few years since, that that great statesman and jurist, Edward Livingston, lost his election to Congress, in New Orleans, because he had honestly espoused one side of an important question; and, at the same election, John Sergeant of Philadelphia lost his, because he had honestly espoused the other side;—and so both were excluded from the councils of the nation. Under similar circumstances, it often happens that the places of such men are filled by some mere negation of a man, or by some political harlequin who is ready to enter on the stage, in any dress that pit or gallery may call for. Now I would ask any sober and reflecting man, whether he would not prefer to have his own and his country's interests, represented on the floor of Congress, by individuals such as those above named, though widely differing from him on a particular point, rather than to have them represented by a base party chamelion, who always reflects the political complexion of the district he resides in;—or outdoing the chamelion himself, changes to the complexion of the district he means to go to?

But it is not the legislative branch only of our government, into which the power of the people directly enters. As jurors, they decide almost all questions of fact in the judicial department. As witnesses, they are the medium for furnishing the facts themselves to which the court applies its law; and here the witness may be said to govern the court; for, accordingly as he testifies to one thing or its opposite, one legal principle or its opposite arises in the judge's mind, and is applied to the case. And again, in the absence of a standing army, the people are the only reliance of the executive power for enforcing either an act of Legislature or a decree of the Court, which meets resistance.

I might advert to another prominent circumstance, showing the difficulties and dangers that beset our course. Our government, being representative as it regards the people, and federative as it regards the States, is new in the history of the race. It has no precedent on the file of nations. We have no experience of others, derived from similar experiments, to guide us. Hence our only resort is, to see as far as we can, to grope where we cannot see, and to plunge where we cannot grope. But I leave this fact and its natural consequences to be traced out by each one for himself.

If then every government—even the simplest—requires talent and probity for its successful administration; and if it demands these qualities in a higher and higher degree, in proportion to its complexity, and its newness; then does our government require this talent and probity, to an extent indefinitely

beyond that of any other which ever existed. And if, in all governments, wisdom and goodness in the ruler, are indispensable to the dignity and happiness of the subject; then, in a government like our own, where all are rulers, all must be wise and good, or we must suffer the alternative of debasement and misery. It is not enough that a bare majority should be intelligent and upright, while a large minority is ignorant and corrupt. Even in such a state, we should be a house divided against itself, which, we are taught, cannot stand. Hence knowledge and virtue must penetrate society, through and through. We need general intelligence and integrity as we need our daily bread. A famine in the latter, would not be more fatal to natural health and life, than a dearth in the former, to political health and life.

Two dangers then, equally fatal, impend over us;—the danger of ignorance which does not know its duty, and the danger of vice which, knowing, contemns it. To ensure prosperity, the mass of the people must be both well informed, and upright; but it is obvious that one portion of them may be honest but ignorant, while the residue are educated but fraudful.

When, therefore, we say that our government must be administered by adequate knowledge, and according to the unchangeable principles of rectitude, we mean that it must be administered by men who have acacquired this knowledge, and whose conduct is guided by these principles. The knowledge and virtue we need are not abstractions, idealities, bodiless conceptions;—they must be incarnated in human form, imbodied in the living head and heart; they must glow with such fervid vitality as to burst forth spontaneously into action. Instead of our talking so much of these qualities, they must be such a matter of course as not to be talked of.

Such must have been the theory of those who achieved our Independence, and framed the organic law of our government. They did not brave the terrors of that doubtful struggle, to escape from a supposed one-headed monster on the other side of the Atlantic, into the jaws of a myriad-headed monster on this side. No! we should rob the patriots of the Revolution of their purest glory, did we not believe that the means of self-elevation and self-purification, for the whole people, was an infinitely higher object with them, than immunity from pecuniary burdens. Our fathers did not go to the British king, like a town pauper, demanding exemption from taxes; but they went, like high-priests of God, to reclaim the stolen ark of Liberty—and to bring Dagon upon his face, again and again, till it should be restored.

With the heroes and sages and martys of those days, I believe in the capability of man for self-government—my whole soul thereto most joyously consenting. Nay, if there be any heresy among men, or blasphemy against God, at which the philosopher might be allowed to forget his equanimity, and the Christian his charity—it is the heresy and the blasphemy of believing and avowing, that the infinitely good and all-wise Author of the universe persists in creating and sustaining a race of beings, who, by a law of their nature, are forever doomed to suffer all the atrocities and agonies of misgovernment, either from the hands of others, or from their own. The doctrine of the inherent and necessary disability of mankind for self-government should be regarded, not simply with denial, but with execration. To sweep so foul a creed from the precincts of truth, and utterly to consume it, rhetoric should become a whirlwind and logic fire. Indeed, I have never known a man who desired the establishment of monarchical and aristocratical institutions amongst us, who had not a mental reservation, that, in such case, he and his family should belong to the privileged orders.

Still, if asked the broad question, whether man is capable of self-government, I must answer it conditionally. If by man, in the inquiry, is meant the Feejee Islanders; or the convicts at Botany Bay; or the people of Mexico and of some of the South American Republics, (so called;) or those as a class, in our own country, who can neither read nor write; or those who can read and write, and who possess talents and an education by force of which they get treasury, or post office, or bank appointments, and then abscond with all the money they can steal;—I answer unhesitatingly that *man*, or rather *such men*, are not fit for self-government. Fatuity and guilt are no more certain to ruin an individual, or a family over which they preside, than they are to destroy a government, into whose rule they enter. Politics have been beautifully defined to be *the art of making a people happy*. Such men have no such art; but, with power in their hands, they would draw down personal, and dispense universal misery.

But if, on the other hand, the inquiry be, whether mankind are not endowed with those germs of intelligence and those susceptibilities of goodness, by which, under a perfectly practicable system of cultivation and training they are able to avoid the evils of despotism and anarchy; and also, of those frequent changes in national policy which are but one remove from anarchy;—and to hold steadfastly on their way in an endless career of improvement—then, in the full rapture of that joy and triumph which springs from a belief in the goodness of God and the progressive happiness of man, I answer, *they are able*.

But men are not *born* in the full possession of such an ability. They do not necessarily develop any such ability, as they grow up from infancy to manhood. Competency to fill so high a sphere can be acquired only by the cultivation of natural endowments, and the subjugation of inordinate propensities. We laugh to scorn the idea of a man's being *born* a ruler or lawgiver—whether King or Peer;—but men are *born* capable of making laws and being rulers, just as much in the Old World as in the New. With us, every

voter is a ruler and a law-maker, and therefore it is no less absurd to say, here, that a man is fit to be a voter by right of nativity or naturalization, than it is, in the language of the British constitution, to say that man shall be Sovereign, or Lord, by hereditary descent. Qualification, in both cases is something superadded to birth or citizenship; and hence, unless we take adequate means to supply this qualification to our voters, the Bishop of London or the Duke of Wellington may sneer at us for believing in the hereditary right *to vote*, with as good a grace as we can at them, for believing in the hereditary right *to rule*.

And here a fundamental question arises—the most important question ever put in relation to this people—whether, when our government was changed from the hereditary right to rule, to the hereditary right to vote, any corresponding measures were taken to prevent irresponsible voters from abusing their power, as irresponsible rulers had abused theirs. Government is a stewardship, always held by a comparatively small portion of those whose happiness is dependent upon its acts. Even with us, in States where the right of suffrage is most extensive, far less than a quarter part of the existing population, sway the fortunes of all the rest—to say nothing of their power over the welfare of posterity. This precious deposit in the hands of the foreign steward had been abused; we reclaimed it from his possession, and divided it amongst thousands; but what guaranty did we obtain from the new depositaries, that our treasure should not be squandered or embezzled, as wantonly or wrongfully as before? It is more difficult to watch the million than the individual. It is a case, too, where the law of bond of suretyship does not apply; because, when the contract is broken we have none to apply to for redress save the contractor and surety, who themselves have violated their obligation. There is but one practicable or possible insurance or gage, and that is, the capacity and conscientiousness of the fiduciary.

When the Declaration of Independence was carried into effect, and the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the civil and political relations of the generation then living and of all succeeding ones, were changed. Men were no longer the same men, but were clothed with new rights and responsibilities. Up to that period, so far as government was concerned, they might have been ignorant;—indeed, it has generally been held that where a man's only duty is obedience, it is better that he should be ignorant; for why should a beast of burden be endowed with the sensibilities of a man! Up to that period, so far as government was concerned, a man might have been unprincipled and flagitious. He had no access to the statute-book to alter or repeal its provisions, so as to screen his own violations of the moral law from punishment, or to legalize the impoverishment and ruin of his fellow-beings. But with the new institutions, there came new relations, and an immense accession of powers. New trusts of inappreciable value and magnitude were devolved upon the old agents and upon their successors, irrevocably

Now the rule of common sense applicable to analogous cases, applies emphatically here:—confide your fortunes only to the hands of a faithful and competent agent; or if, through legal limitation or restriction, they must pass into the hands of one at present unqualified to administer them; spend half,—spend nine-tenths of the fortune itself, if need be, to qualify the new agent for his duty.

If, at the epoch to which I have referred, there was any class of men who believed that republican institutions contain an inherent and indestructible principle of self-purification,—who believed that a Republic from the necessity of its nature is infallible and incorruptible, and like a beautiful goddess, endowed with immortal youth and purity; or, if there is any class of men at the present day holding this faith,—let me say it is as fatal an error as was ever harbored by the human mind; because it belongs to that class of errors which blind while they menace,—whose deadly shaft is unseen until it quivers in the heart. A republican government is the visible manifestation of the people's invisible soul. Through the ballot-box, the latent will bursts out into authoritative action. In a republican government the ballot-box is the urn of fate; yet no god shakes the bowl or presides over the lot. If the ballot-box is open to wisdom and patriotism and humanity; it is equally open to ignorance and treachery, to pride and envy, to contempt for the poor or hostility towards the rich. It is the loosest filter ever devised to strain out impurities It gives equal ingress to whatever comes No masses of selfishness or fraud, no foul aggregations of cupidity or profligacy, are so ponderous or bulky as to meet obstruction in its capacious gorge. The criteria of a right to vote respect citizenship, age, residence, tax, and, in a few cases, property; but no inquiry can be put whether the applicant is a Cato or a Catiline To secure fidelity in the discharge of duties, an oath is imposed on the most unimportant officers—constables, clerks, surveyors of roads, of lumber, leather, fish—while the just exercise of this highest function of the citizen, by which law-makers, law expounders, and executive officers are alike created, is secured by no civil sanction. In all business transactions, especially where any doubt or distrust attaches to character, we reduce our stipulations to writing; but in conferring the right to vote, we take no promise beforehand that it shall be honestly exercised, nor do we reserve to ourselves any right of subsequent redress, should the privilege be abused.

In some States, the law provides that the *name* of every voter shall be endorsed upon the ballot he gives. Suppose, in some of our angry political contests, the *motives* of every voter were written upon his ballot, so that they should all be as legible to man, on the

paper, as they are visible to God, in the heart—what a history would they reveal! We are accustomed to quote the abominable edicts of popes and kings, and we dwell upon every line, to kindle abhorrence at human depravity; yet, as an exponent of motives, what is the verbiage of papal bulls or imperial mandates, compared with the sententious decrees which every man's ballot contains, and which go forth omnipotent to execute his will. Yet this irresponsible utterance through the ballot-box, is the inceptive process of legislation;—nay, in all the most important cases, it is legislation—the will of the people being made known here, and only passing on to legislative halls to go through certain formalities and be promulgated as law. The human imagination can picture no semblance of the destructive potency of the ballot-box in the hands of an ignorant and a corrupt people. The Roman cohorts were terrible; the Turkish Janizaries were incarnate fiends; but each was powerless as a child, for harm, compared with universal suffrage, without mental illumination and moral principle. The power of casting a vote is far more formidable than that of casting spear or javelin.

One of the foulest in the long catalogue of atrocities which necessitated the French Revolution, was the emission of *Lettres de cachet*—those secret, royal orders, by which good men, without trial and without accusation, were snatched, at midnight, from home and from all they held dear, their property confiscated, and themselves imprisoned or assassinated. Yet every vote which a bad man gives, is a secret, royal *Lettre de cachet*, against the happiness and hopes of all good men—and given equally without trial, arraignment, or accusation. The right of secret ballot is a general license to every bad man in the community, to do, on certain days, the vilest deeds he can conceive, with perfect impunity. With such, election days are the Saturnalia of all vicious desires. But evil motives will issue in evil deeds; and the deeds will be disarmed of none of their malignity because they are done in secret.

On one of those oft-recurring days, when the fate of the State or the Union is to be decided at the polls;—when, over all the land, the votes are falling thick as hail, and we seem to hear them rattle like the clangor of arms;—is it not enough to make the lover of his country turn pale, to reflect upon the motives under which they may be given, and the consequences to which they may lead? By the votes of a few wicked men, or even of one wicked man, honorable men may be hurled from office, and miscreants elevated to their places; useful offices abolished, and sinecures created; the public wealth, which had supported industry, squandered upon mercenaries; enterprise crippled—the hammer falling from every hand, the wheel stopping in every mill, the sail dropping to the mast on every sea—and thus capital which had been honestly and laboriously accumulated, turned into dross;—in fine, the whole policy of the government may be reversed and the social condition of millions changed, to gratify one man's grudge, or prejudice, or revenge. In a word, if the votes, which fall so copiously into the ballot-box, on our days of election, emanate from wise counsels and a loyalty to truth, they will descend, like benedictions from Heaven, to bless the land and fill it with song and gladness—such as have never been known upon earth since the days of Paradise;—but if, on the other hand, these votes come from ignorance and crime, the fire and brimstone that were rained on Sodom and Gomorrah would be more tolerable.

So if, at the time when that almost anarchical state of things which immediately followed the Revolutionary War, subsided and took shape and character in the Republican form of our National and State constitutions; if, at that time, there was a large class of men more wealthy and better educated than the mass,—possessing more of the adventitious distinctions of society, and conversant with an ampler range of human history,—and hence drawing auguries unfavorable to themselves and to the community, from the copious infusion of the democratic principle into all our institutions;—that class of men had one of the most solemn duties to perform ever imposed upon human beings. If they had a superior knowledge of the past, and a greater stake in the future, it was alike their duty and their interest, to stifle all considerations of person and caste, to reconcile themselves to their new condition, and to concentrate all their energies in providing some refuge from impending evils. With our change from a monarchical to a popular government,—from a government where all rule descended from 'our Lord the King,' to one where all rule ascended from 'our Lords the People,' the whole condition and relations of men were changed. It was like a change in the order of Nature. Were the poles of the earth to be now swung round, ninety degrees,—to a coincidence with the equator,—it would not work a greater change in the soil and climate of all the zones, than was wrought by that change of government, both in the relative and absolute conditions of men. Before this epoch the few, by force of rank, wealth, dress, equipage, accomplishments, governed the many; after it, the many were to govern the few. Before this, birth and family were words of potent signification; but the revolution worked the most thorough attainder of all such blood; and it would have been better for a man to put on the poisoned tunic of Nessus, than to boast that a drop of aristocratical blood coursed through his veins. Before this, the deference paid to the opinions of different men, varied in the ratio of thousands to one; but after this, the vote of the veriest ignoramus or scoundrel would balance that of Franklin or Washington.

About the expediency, and especially about the extent of that change, a wide difference of opinion prevailed. But, the change being made, was it not the duty of its opponents to yield to the inevitable course of events, and to prepare for coming exigencies? And could not every really noble soul find an ample compensation for the loss of personal influence or family distinction, in the greater dignity and elevation of his fellow beings? From whom should instruction come, if not from the most educated? Where should generosity towards the poor begin, if not with those whom Providence had blessed with abundance! Whence should magnanimity proceed, if not from minds expanded by culture? If there were an order of men who lost something of patrician rank by this political change, instead of holding themselves aloof from the people, they should have walked among them as Plato and Socrates did among their contemporaries, and expounded to them the nature and the vastness of the work they had undertaken to do;—nay, if need were, they should have drained the poisoned bowl to sanctify the truths which they taught. For want of that interest and sympathy in the condition of the poor and the ignorant which the new circumstances required, they and their descendants have been, and will be compelled to drink potions, more bitter than hemlock, as their daily beverage. Interest, honor, duty, alike required that no word of aspersion or contumely should be cast upon the new order of things or its supporters. Why should they laugh at the helmsman, when the ship which contained their own treasures as well as his, was in the furrows of the sea? If, as was contemptuously said said by one of the most gifted men of that party, these republican institutions are 'like white birch stakes whose nature it is to fail in two years;' and that 'a republic wears out its morals almost as soon as the sap of a white birch rots the wood,'—they should forthwith have saturated them with such a preparation of virtue and knowledge as would *kyanize** even the porous structure of birch itself, and keep the dry rot for ever from its spongiest fibres. With the change in the organic structure of our government, there should have been corresponding changes in all public measures, and institutions. For every dollar given by the wealthy, or by the State, to colleges to cultivate the higher branches of knowledge, a hundred should have been given for primary education. For every acre of land bestowed upon an academy, a province should have been granted to Common Schools. Select schools for select children should have been discarded; and universal education joined hands with universal suffrage. It was no time for 'Old Mortality' to be furbishing up the gravestones of the dead, when house, and household, and posterity were all in peril from the living.—Instead of the old order of nobility, with its baubles and puerilities, a new order should have been created,—an order of Teachers, wise, benevolent, filled with Christian enthusiasm, and rewarded and honored by all;—an order looking forwards to a noble line of benefactors whom they might help to rear, rather than backwards to ancestors from whom they had basely degenerated.—In these schools, the first great principle of a republican government,—that of native, inborn equality,—should have been practically inculcated, by their being open to all, good enough for all, and attended by all. Here too, the second great principle of a republican government should have been taught,—that all men, though natively equal, become inherently unequal the moment that one grows wiser or better than his fellow. The doctrine of 'higher' and 'lower' classes in society should have been retained, but with a change in its application. Those who had done the most good to mankind should have been honored as the 'highest;' while these who had done no good to the race, either by the labors of the hand or by the labors of the mind,—who had lived, without requital, upon the earnings of others, and left the world no better or made it worse, than they found it, should have been thrust down in the scale of social consideration, to 'low' and 'lower,' through all the degrees of comparison.—Whatever of leisure or of knowledge was possessed by the more wealthy or educated, should have been freely expended to enlighten the laboring classes. Lectures, libraries, lyceums, mechanic's institutes, should every where have been fostered;—scientific tracts gratuitously distributed;—and a drowning child should not have been snatched from a watery grave with more promptness and alacrity than an ignorant or an abandoned one should have been sought out, and brought under elevating and reforming influences. The noblest public edifices, the most splendid galleries of art, theatres, gardens, monuments,—should all have been deemed a reproach to any people, while there was a child amongst them without ample and improved means of education. The nature and functions of our government, the laws of political economy, the *duties* as well as the *rights* of citizens, should have been made familiar as household words. The right to vote should have been held up as the most sacred of human rights,—as involving all civil and religious rights, and therefore to be constrain ed, (*coactum*, as the Romans would have more vigorously expressed it,) by all civil and religious obligations. The great truth should every where have been inculcated, by example as well as by precept, that for the dependent to vote from malice, or en-

perior to compel the dependent, through fear or bribery, to vote against his judgment, involves the baseness as well as the guilt of subornation of treason. Had this been done, our days of election would never have been, as they now so often are, days of turbulence, and Bacchanalian riot, of insulting triumph or revengeful defeat; but they would have been days of thoughtfulness and of solemnity,—such as befit a day whose setting snn will witness the ruin or the rescue of so much of human welfare.

Had this been done, our pioneer settlers would not have abandoned their homes, for the western wilderness, until they could have carried all the blessed influences,—the power and the spirit of education,—with them. No prospect of wealth would have tempted them to leave a land of moral culture for a moral desert. Then our civilization, as it expanded, would have been laden with blessings. We might, indeed, have subjugated less territory by the arts of industry and enterprise; but, as a thousand fold requital for this, we should have subjugated fewer aborigines by fraud and violence. Instead of the unenviable power which belongs to the sword, we should have enjoyed the godlike power which resides in beneficence.

And until this work of improvement is done—until this indifference of the wealthy and the educated towards the masses shall cease, and legislative bounty shall atone for past penuriousness, there can be no security for any class or description of men, nor for any interest, human or divine. With additional thousands of voters, every year crossing the line of manhood to decree the destiny of the nation, without additional knowledge aud morality, things must accelerate from worse to worse. Amid increasing darkness and degeneracy, every man's rights may be invaded through legislation—through the annulment of charters or the abrogation of remedies;—and through the corruption of jurors, or even of one juror on the pannel of twelve, every man's right of redress may be denied for the grossest aggressions. As parties alternate, the rich may now be plundered of a life of gains; and now, through vindictive legislation, the arms of the laboring man struck dead by his side. And if, amid these scenes, even Washington should arise, and from the battlements of the capitol, should utter a warning voice, the mad populace would hurl him from the Tarpeian. In fine, in our government, as at present administered, or as likely to be administered, the power, even after a choice of rulers, is so far retained by the people as almost to supersede the reality of representation; and, therefore, if the whole people be not equal to the business entrusted to them—the mass, like any individual, will

established for the education of the whole people. These schools should have been of a more perfect character than any which have ever yet existed. In them, the principles of morality should have been copiously intermingled with the principles of science. Cases of conscience should have alternated with lessons in the rudiments. The multiplication table should not have been more familiar nor more frequently applied, than the rule, to do to others as we would that they should do unto us. The lives of great and good men should have been held up for admiration and example; and especially the life and character of Jesus Christ, as the sublimest pattern of benevolence, of purity, of self-sacrifice, ever exhibited to mortals. In every course of studies, all the practical and preceptive parts of the Gospel should have been sacredly included; and all dogmatical theology and sectarianism sacredly excluded. In no school should the Bible have been opened to reveal the sword of the polemic, but to unloose the dove of peace.

I have thus endeavored to show, that with universal suffrage, there must be universal elevation of character, intellectual and moral, or there will be universal mismanagement and calamity.

Let us now, in the first place, inquire whether there is at present, in this country, a degree of intelligence sufficient for the wise administration of its affairs. If there is sufficient intelligence in the aggregate people, then there must be sufficient in the individual members; and, if there is not sufficient in the individual members, then there is not sufficient in the aggregate.

The last census of the United States shows the round number of five hundred and fifty thousand persons, over the age of twenty years, unable to read and write.—From no inconsiderable attention devoted to this and kindred topics, I am convinced that the above number, great as it is, is far below the truth. I will state one or two of the reasons, among many, which have led me to this conclusion.

There is no part of our country where a man would not prefer to be accounted able to read and write, rather than to be written down according to the preference of Dogberry. To be supposed the possessor of power and accomplishments is a desire common to all men, whether savage or civilized, or in the intermediate state. The deputy marshals or assistants who took the census travelled from house to house, making the shortest practicable stay at each. They received compensation, by the head, not by the day, for the work done. Considering the time to which they were limited, more was required of them than could be thoroughly and accurately performed.

were allowed to receive statements from persons over sixteen years of age. It must often have happened that the import of the questions proposed by them was not fully understood. Their informants were subjected to no test,—their bare word being accredited. The very question would imply disparagement, and would often be regarded as an insult, by those who saw no reason for putting it. A new source of error would exist in any want of fidelity in the agent; and who can suppose, among so many, that all were faithful? It is well known too, that no inconsiderable number of persons gave false information when inquired of by the deputies,—either through a wanton or mischievous disposition, or through a fear that the census was only a preliminary step to some tax or other requisition, to be made upon them by the government.

Let me fortify this reasoning with facts. In the annual message of Governor Campbell of Virginia, to the Legislature of that State, dated January 9th, 1839—the year immediately preceding that in which the census was taken—I find the following statement:—

'The importance of an efficient system of education, embracing in its comprehensive and benevolent design, the whole people, cannot be too frequently recurred to.

'The statements furnished by the clerks of five city and borough courts, and ninety-three of the county courts, in reply to inquiries addressed to them, ascertain, that of those who applied for marriage licenses, a large number were unable to write their names The years selected for this inquiry were those of 1817, 1827, and 1837. The statements show that the applicants for marriage licenses in 1817, amounted to four thousand six hundred and eighty-two; of whom eleven hundred and twenty-seven were unable to write;—five thousand and forty eight in 1827, of whom the number unable to write was eleven hundred and sixty-six;—and in 1837, the applicants were four thousand six hundred and fourteen; and of these the number of one thousand and forty seven were unable to write their names. From which it appears, there still exists a deplorable extent of ignorance, and that in truth, it is hardly less than it was twenty years ago, when the school fund was created. The statements, it will be remembered are partial, not embracing quite all the counties, and are moreover confined to one sex. The education of females, it is to be feared is in a condition of much greater neglect

'There are now in the State two hundred thousand children between the ages of five and fifteen. Forty thousand of them are reported to be poor children; and of them only one half to be attending schools. It may be safely assumed that of those possessing property, adequate to the expenses of a plain education, a large number are growing up in ignorance, for want of schools within convenient distances Of those at school, many derive little or no instruction, owing to the incapacity of the teachers, as well as to their culpable negligence and inattention. Thus the number likely to remain uneducated and to grow up, without just perceptions of their duties, religious, social, and political, is really of appalling magnitude and

Here let the audience mark particulars. Written application was to be made for a marriage license. The rudimental or elementary education which a person obtains, usually precedes marriage After this climacteric, people rarely go to school to learn reading and writing. The information, here given, was obtained from five city and borough, as well as from ninety-three county courts, (the whole number of counties in the State being one hundred and twenty-three;)—not, therefore, in the dark interior only, but in the blaze of city illumination. The fact was communicated by the governor of a proud State to the legislature of the same. Each case was subjected to an infallible test, for no man who could make any scrawl in the similitude of his name, would prefer to make his mark and leave it on record. The requisition was made upon the officers of the courts, and the evidence was of a documentary or judicial character—the highest known to the law. And what was the result? Almost one quarter part of the men applying for marriage licenses were unable to write their names! It would be preposterous to suppose that their intended wives had gazed, from any nearer point than their husbands, at the splendors of science. Indeed Gov. Campbell clearly intimates an opinion that the women were far more ignorant than the men.

I ought to add, that an inquiry made in another part of the same State, by one of its public officers, showed that one third of all those who had applied for a marriage license had made their marks.

Now Virginia has a free white population over 20 years of age of 329,959. One fourth part of this number is 82,489, which, according to the evidence presented by Governor Campbell, is the lowest possible limit, at which the minimum of adults unable to read and write, can be stated. But the census number is 58,787 only, making a difference of 23,702, or more than 40 pr cent. North Carolina, with a free white population over 20 years of age of only 209,635, has the appalling number, even according to the census, of 56,609 unable to read and write; or a great deal more than one quarter part of the whole free population, over 20 years of age, below zero, in the educational scale. If to this number we should add 40 per cent. as facts require us to do in the case of Virginia, we should find almost two-fifths of the whole adult population of that State in the same Cimmerian night.

I had proposed to pursue this computation in regard to Kentucky, Tennessee, So. Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, &c, but the task is useless and sickening. It must suffice to state, in general terms, that the number according to the census, of persons over the age of 20, unable to read and write, is, in Virginia, 58,787, in North Carolina, 56,-

population over 30 years of age, of only 111 663, and with 327,038 slaves) Georgia, 30,717, and Alabama, 22.592; and that, by the Constitution of the United States, these ignorant multitudes have the right of voting for Representatives in Congress, not only for themselves, but for their slaves—five slaves being counted as equal to three whites. Now, if to the 550,000 free white population, over the age of 20 years, unable to read and write, as shown by the census, we should add only thirty per ct., for its undoubted under-estimates, it would increase the total to more than 700,000.

I might derive another and a convincing argument, from the statistics of education given by the census, in regard to our own State, to prove their inaccuracy. The same general motives, which would lead to an under-statement in regard to the number of persons unable to read and write, would lead to an over-statement in regard to the number of those attending school. In Massachusetts, the whole number of scholars of all ages, in all our Public Schools, is annually returned by the school committees, —men highly competent to do their duty, familiar with the subject, and possessing the most ample and exact means of information. By those returns, it appears that the whole number of scholars who were in all our Public Schools, any part of the time during our school year 1840–41, (the year in which the census was taken) was but 155,041, and the average attendance was, in winter 116,308, and in summer, 96,892;—while the number given in the census, is 158,351.

But without seeking any closer approximation to so unwelcome a truth let us suppore, that we have but 700,000 free white persons in the United States, over the age of twenty years, unable to read and write; and further, that only one quarter part of these are voters,—that is, we will deduct one half for females, and allow one half of the male moiety to be persons, either between twenty and 21, or unnaturalized, (which, considering the States where the great mass of this ignorance belongs, is a most liberal allowance, because the number of ignorant immigrants is much less at the South than at the North) and we should then have 175,000 voters, unable to read and write.

Now at the last presidential election, when every voter not absolutely in his winding sheet was carried to the polls—when the harvest-field was so thoroughly swept that neither stubble nor tares were left for the gleaner—at that election, the majority for the successful candidate was 146,081—about 30,000 less than the estimated number of legal voters in the United States, unable to read and write. At this election it is also to be remembered, a larger majority of the electoral votes was given to the successful candidate than was ever ted States, with the exception of Mr. Monroe in 1820, against whom there was but one vote. Gen. Harrison's popular majority also, was undoubtedly the largest by which any President of the United States has ever been elected, with the exception above-mentioned, of Mr Monroe, and perhaps that of General Washington, at his second election. And yet this majority, large as it was, was about 30,000 less than the estimated number of our legal voters, unable to read and write.

No, Fellow-Citizens, we have not had for years past, and we shall not have, at least for many years to come, an election of a President, or a Congress, or a Governor of a State—chosen under written constitutions, and to legislate and act under written constitutions, whose choice will not be dependent upon, and determinable by, legal voters, unable to read and write,—voters who do not know, and cannot know, whether they vote for King Log, or King Stork The illustrious and noble band who framed the Constitution of the Union,—Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison—who adjusted all the principles which it contains, by the line and the plummet, and weighed the words which describe them in scales so nice as to tremble beneath the dust of the balance—expended the energies of their mighty minds to perfect an instrument, which before half a century should pass away, was doomed to be administered, controlled, expounded, by men unable to read and write. The power of Congress over all the great social and economical interests of this vast country; the orbits in which the States are to move around the central body in the system;—the functions of the Executive who holds in his hands the army and the navy, manages all diplomatic relations with foreign powers, and can involve the country, at any time, in the horrors of war; and that grand poising power, the Supreme Judiciary, appointed to be the presiding intelligence over the system, to harmonize its motions and to keep its attracting and divergent tendencies in equilibrium;—all this splendid structure, the vastest and the nicest ever devised by mortals,—is under the control of men who are incapable of reading one word of the language which describes its frame-work, and defines its objects and its guards—incapable of reading one word of contemporaneous exposition, of antecedent history, or of subsequent developments, and therefore ready to make it include any thing, or exclude any thing, as their blind passions may dictate. Phaeton was less a fool when he mounted the chariot to drive the horses of the sun, than ourselves, if we expect to reach the zenith of prosperity and happiness under such guidance!

I have spoken of those only who might as well have lived before Cadmus invented

century. But it is to be remembered there is no unoccupied space—no broad line of demarcation between the totally ignorant and the competently learned. Between meridian and midnight, a dim and long twilight intervenes.

If the seven hundred thousand, who, in one particular, surpass the most learned of ancient or modern times—because to them all written languages are alike—if these are the most numerous class—probably the next most numerous consists of those who know next to nothing—and in reaching the summit of the highest intelligence, we should ascend by very easy gradations. Very ma-people learn to write their names for business purposes, whose attainments, at that point, become stationary; and it is one thing to be just able to read a verse in the Bible, and quite another to understand the forty thousand words in common use, among intelligent men;—there being more than a geometrical increase in the ideas which these words may be made to convey. Nay, if a few of the words, used by an intelligent man, are lost to the hearer, through his ignorance of their meaning, the whole drift and object of the speaking or writing are lost. The custom so prevalent at the West and South, of *stump-speaking*, as it is significantly but uncouthly called, had its origin in the voters' incapacity to read. How otherwise can a candidate for office communicate with ignorant voters?—Should he publish his views and send them abroad, he must send an interpreter with them; but at a *barbecue*—amidst the sympathy of numbers, the excitement of visible objects, the feast, the flow, the roar,—the most abtruse points of the Constitution, the profoundest questions of national policy can all be expounded, and men and measures decided upon, to universal satisfaction!

A clear corollary is deducible from this demonstration. If the majority of a self-governing people are sober-minded, enlightened, studious of right, capable of comparing and balancing opposite interpretations of a fundamental law, or opposite views of a particular system of policy; then all appeals addressed to them in messages, speeches, pamphlets, and from the thousand tongued newspaper press, will be calm, dispassionate adapted at once to elucidate the subject under consideration and to instruct and elevate the mind of the arbiters. But, on the other hand, if the people are ignorant, fickle, averse to, or incapable of patient inquiry, prone to hasty decisions from plausible appearances, or reckless from prejudice or passion, then the demagogues who address, will adapt themselves to the dupes who hear, just as certainly, as the hunter adapts his lure to the animal he would ensnare; and flattery, imposture, falsehood, the vindication and euvirtuous. will be the instruments by which a warfare, destructive in the end alike to victors and vanquished, will be waged.—Let the spirit and tone of our congressional and legislative speech-makers, and the language of the political press, throughout the country, decide the question, which of the above described classes they consider themselves as addressing.

Some have thought that, in a Republic the good and wise must necessarily maintain an ascendency over the vicious and ignorant. But whence any such moral necessity? The distinctive characteristic of a republic is the greater freedom and power of its members. A republic is a political contrivance by which the popular voice is collected and uttered, as one articulate and authoritative sound. If then, the people, are unrighteous, that utterance will be unrighteous. If the people, or a majority of them withdraw their eyes from wisdom and equity,—those everlasting lights in the firmament of truth; if they abandon themselves to party strife, where the triumph of a faction, rather than the prevalence of the right, is made the object of contest,—it becomes as certain as are the laws of omnipotence, that such a community will express and obey the baser will.

Suppose a people to be honest, but unenlightened either by study or experience; and suppose a series of questions to be submitted to them for decision, more grave and important than were ever before evolved in the history of the race. Suppose farther, that many of the leading men among them, and the principal organs which hold communication with them, instead of striving to enlighten and instruct, only inflame and exasperate one portion of them against another portion,—and in this state of mind they proceed to the arbitrament. Would it not be better, like the old Roman soothsayers, to determine the question by the flight of birds, or to learn the oracles of fate by inspecting the entrails of an animal?

When a pecuniary question, however trifling, is to be submitted to a bench of judges, composed of the most learned men in the land, the parties whose interest is at stake, employ eminent counsel, that the whole merits of the case may be developed, and conduce to a just decision. And the court will not suffer its attention to be withdrawn, or its judgment to be disturbed, by vilification of an opponent, or flattery of the tribunal, or the introduction of any other irrelevant matter, but rebukes them as a personal indignity. Now the people have questions to decide infinitely more important than are ever submitted to any court—they may have the question of the court's existence to decide on,—and should not they, therefore, demand of all their advisers, whether elected or self-constituted, a corresponding truthfulness and

all the great truths of astronomy, chemistry, engineering, mechanics, navigation,—if any new point arises, they address themselves most soberly and sedulously to its solution; if new instruments are wanted, they prepare them; is they are deficient in any collateral branch of information, they acquire it. And yet philosophy has no questions more difficult or important than those which are decided with us, by a major vote. Why then should we wonder that on all the great questions which, as yet, have arisen under our government,—the increase or reduction of the army and navy; peace or war; tariff or anti-tariff; internal improvements or no internal improvements; currency, bank or no bank, subtreasury or no sub-treasury;—why should we wonder, that on all these and other vital questions, we should already have precedents and authorities on both sides, and every thing as yet unsettled;—nay even a wider diversity and a fiercer conflict of opinion, at the present time, than at the foundation of the government?

And while the present state of things exists, is it not obvious, that we can neither develop the principles of a true policy, nor enjoy the advantages of consistency even in an erroneous course? A foreigner would naturally inquire how it is, that with such an extended country and with such predominating interests, our parties are so equally balanced,—and why it is, that power so often shifts hands amongst us, and rivals and competitors are now on this side and now on that, like partners in a country-dance. The answer is obvious. If any one party predominates, and triumphs even to the silencing of opposition,—not thro' any sagacity or sanity of its own, but owing to a deep under current of events which bears it prosperously along, notwithstanding any follies or enormities which may be committed on the surface; it is easy to see that, in a country presenting such diversified interests as ours, and with knowledge so inadequate to a mastery of their relations, the defeated and dispersed party can rally under some new name, and avowing some new and plausible purpose, again contend for victory. And thus, in an ignorant community, the decomposition and recomposition of parties may follow each other forever. Or, suppose that each of two great parties contains a million of tried adherents,—of men who may be relied on, who will not, on the morning of battle, strike their flag and march over in a body, to the enemy's ranks;—but suppose that, in addition to this loyal million on each side, there are a hundred thousand mere mercenaries—political Swiss, ready to fight on either side, and whose only inquiry is, which side offers greater pay and greater plunder;—is it not plain that every question will be decided by the hirelings? Foreseeing on what the fate of the day is to depend, will not the party leaders,—or, if not the leaders, will not some of its irresponsible members, if not its leaders,—be tempted to offer bounty and spoils,—to bid and over-bid for their services, until the venal Hessians are glutted. Is this prophecy, or is it history?

We look with a kind of contempt as well as abhorrence upon the self-styled republics of South America, which seem to be founded politically, as well as territorially, upon earthquakes. Were it not that so much of human happiness is involved in their revolutions, ridicule would overpower indignation at the spectacle they present. It is difficult to state the number of their overturns, and of late years, it has seemed hardly worth while to keep the tally, but propably the changes of party and of policy in our general government, have not been much less numerous than theirs. In some of our States certainly, the changes of party have been so frequent, that the Moon would be their most appropriate coat of arms*

In one important particular, indeed, we have the advantage of our namesakes in the southern hemisphere; for our revolutions of party, as yet, have been bloodless. How long they may continue so, even in New England, depends upon the measures we take to give predominance to principle over passion, in the education of the young.

To these indisputable facts respecting the general ignorance of this country, it cannot be answered, that, stationed at different points, all over its surface, with narrow intervening distances, there are a few men, who have been bred in collegiate halls, educated in all the lore of civil polity, and trained to the labors of professional life, who will be eyes to the blind and understandings to the foolish, and will lead the ignorant in the paths of wisdom. In the first place, suppose that irreconcilable differences should arise amongst these men; can an ignorant and stupid people decide between them, with any certainty of not deciding in favor of the erroneous? And again; the history of the world shows an ever-present desire in mankind to acquire power and privilege, and to retain them, when acquired. Knowledge, is power; and the race has suf-

* In the twenty-two elections for Governor of the State of New York, which have taken place since the adoption of the Federal constitution in 1789, the average majority has been only a little more than twelve thousand; and, omitting the election of 1822, when the opposition was only nominal, the average majority has been less than seven thousand; while, according to the census, the number of whites in that State, over 20 years of age, unable to read and write is more than 44,000 In Pennsylvania, the majority for governor has varied from 3,000 to 25,000 It has 33,940 whites, over 20 years of age, unable to read and write In Ohio, the majority has varied from 2,000 (in 1828, and 1830) to 14,000, (last year.) Its number of adult whites unable to read and write is 35.394

In the presidential election of 1836, Mr Van Buren's majority over Harrison and White was 25,000,—South Carolina choosing her electors

fered as much from the usurpers of knowledge, as from Alexanders or Napoleons. If learning could be monopolized by a few individuals amongst us, another priesthood, Egyptian or Druidical, would speedily arise, bowing the souls of men beneath the burden of their terrible superstitions; or, if learning were more widely spread, but still confined to a priviledged order, the multitude, unable to comprehend the source of the advantages it conferred, and stimulated by envy and fear, would speedily extinguish whatever there might be of light,—just as the owl and the bat and the more, if they were promoted to the government of the solar system, would extinguish the sun, because its beams arrested their hunt for insects and vermin. No! The whole people must be instructed in the knowledge of their duties, they must be elevated to a contemplation and comprehension of those great truths on which alone a government like ours can be successfully conducted; and any hope of arresting degeneracy, or suppressing the insurgent passions of the multitude by the influence of here and there an individual, though he were wise as Solon or Solomon, would prove as fallacious as an attempt to stop the influx of malaria, by sprinkling a little chloride of lime along the creeks and shallows of the shore, if the whole ocean, in all its depths, were corrupted.

Bear with me, Fellow-Citizens, while I say, I rejoice that this emergency has burst upon us. I rejoice that power has passed irrevocably into the hands of the people, although I know it has brought imminent peril upon all public and private interests, and placed what is common and what is sacred alike in jeopardy. Century after century, mankind had groaned beneath unutterable oppressions. To pamper a few with luxuries, races had been subjected to bondage. To satiate the ambition of a tyrant, nations had been dashed against each other in battle, and millions crushed by the shock. The upward-tending, light-seeking capacities of the soul had been turned downwards into darkness and debasement. All the realms of futurity which the far-seeing eye of the mind could penetrate, had been peopled with the spectres of superstition. The spirits of the infernal world had been subsidized, to bind all religious freedom, whether of thought or speech, in the bondage of fear. Heaven had been sold, for money, like an earthly domicile, by those who, least of all, had any title to its mansions. In this exigency, it was the expedient of Providence, to transfer dominion from the few to the many,—from those who had abused it, to those who had suffered. The wealthy, the high-born, the privileged, had had it in their power to bless the people; but they had cursed them. Now, they and all their fortunes are in the hands of the people. The poverty which they have entailed is to command their opulence. The ignorance they have suffered to abound, is to adjudicate upon their rights. The appetites they have neglected, or which they fine, that interest and concern for the welfare of inferiors, which should have sprung from motives of philanthropy, must now be extorted from motives of self-preservation. As a famine teaches mankind to be industrious and provident, so do these great developments teach the more favored classes of society that they never can be safe while they neglect the welfare of any portion of their social inferiors. In a broad survey of the grand economy of Providence, the lesson of frugality and thrift, which is taught by the dearth of a single year, is no plainer than this grander lesson of universal benevolence, which the lapse of centuries has been evolving, and is now inculcating upon the world.

Yes, Fellow-Citizens, it is the sublimest truth which the history of the race has yet brought to light, that God has so woven the fortunes of all men into one inseparable bond of unity and fellowship, that it can be well with no class, or oligarchy, or denomination of men, who, in their own self-seeking, forget the welfare of their fellow beings. Nature has so bound us together by the ties of brotherhood, by the endearments of sympathy and benevolence, that the doing of good to others opens deep and perennial well-springs of joy in the human soul; but if we will select the coarse gratifications of selfishness,—if we will forget our own kindred blood in whosoever veins it may flow, then the Eternal Laws denounce, and will execute upon us, tribulation and anguish, and a fearful looking for of an earthly, as well as of a heavenly judgment.

In the first place, there is the property of the affluent, which lies outspread, diffused, scattered over land and sea,—open alike to the stealthiness of the thief, the violence of the robber, and the torch of the incendiary. If any think they hold their estates by a surer tenure,—by charters, franchises, or other muniments of property;—let them know that all these, while the ballot-box which controls legislation, and the jury-box and the witnesses' stand, which control the tribunals of justice, are open;—all these are but as iron mail to protect them against lightning. Where is their security against breaches of trust, and fraudulent bankruptcies,—against stop-laws and suspension-acts, or the bolder measures of legislative repudiation? If their ultimate hope is in the protection of the laws, what shall save them, when fraud and perjury turn every legal remedy into a new instrument of aggression? And behind all these, there is an omnipotent *corps de reserve* of physical force, which mocks at the slowness of legislation and judicature,—whose decrees are irreversible deeds,—whose terrific decisions flash forth in fire, or burst out in demolition.

But houses, lands, granaries, flocks, factories, warehouses, ships, banks, are only exterior possessions,—the out-works, of individual ownership. When these are carried, the assault will be made upon personal security, character and life; and, lastly, upon all the

are lost, humanity has nothing more to lose.

Look at England; and is she not, at the present moment teaching a lesson too instructive to be lost upon us? There, a landed aristocracy, by extortious rents and class legislation, have turned every *twelfth* subject into a pauper. They have improved soils; but they have forgotten the cultivator himself,—as though the clod of the valley were worth more than the soul of the tiller. The terms offered by manufacturing capitalists, with a few most worthy exceptions, have been, absolute starvation, or work with the lowest life-sustaining pittance. Manufacturers has been most anxious about tariff laws, which merely regulate the balance of trade; but heedless of those laws, which determine the balance of all power in the last resort. They have been alive to all improvements in machinery, but dead to the charrcter of the operatives who were to work it. Surely there is no such danger of spontaneous combustion in a heap of oiled cotton or wool, as there is in a mass of human ignorance and prejudice; nor can the former be so easily set on fire by a torch, as the latter by a demagogue. For years past the upper house of parliament have perseveringly and successfully resisted all measures for National Education, which they could not pervert from the bestowment of equal benefits upon all, to the support of their own monopolies. And, as a legitimate consequence of all these systematic, wholesale infractions of the great law, which teaches us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us, there are now, to-day, three millions of Chartists thundering at their palace gates, and the motto upon their banner is, 'Bread or Blood.'

What Paley so justly said of a parent, that 'to send an uneducated child into the world is little better than to turn out a mad dog or a wild beast into the streets,' is just as true when applied to parliament and hierarchy, as when applied to an individual.*

The free population of the United States, in 1840, was 14,581,553. It is found that about one fourth part of our population are between the ages of four and sixteen years. In Massachusetts it is so almost without a fraction.* Although there may be slight variations from this ratio in other states, yet undoubtedly the number *four* is an integer, by far nearer, than any other that could be taken, which, when compared with unity or one, would show the ratio between the whole population of the United States, and the number of children within them, between the ages or four and sixteen years.

Now one fourth part of the whole population, is 3,645,388, while the whole number *of all ages*, in the Primary and Common Schools of the Union is only 1,845,244, which would leave 1,800, 144,—or almost half the children *of an age to attend school*, and far more than half the whole number, *between four and sixteen years of age*, without any of the advantages which those schools might afford.†

Nor would the result be materially altered, even should we add all the students of those institutions, called academies and grammar schools, as contradistinguished from Primary and Common Schools;—for they amount, in all, only to 164,159. The difference between four and sixteen, being twelve, if we divide the number of those who neither attend any academy, grammar, common, or primary school, by twelve, it will give a quotient of 136,332 persons who belong to this uneducated class, and who annually passing the line of majority, and are coming upon the stage of life, to be the fath-

*For a century past, a vast portion of the wit of all English novel and dramatic literature has turned upon the ignorance and coarseness of the common people. The millions have first been shut out from the means of knowledge and good breeding, and then their cockneyisms, their provincial, outlandish pronunciation and brogue, their personal awkwardness and half-formed ideas, have been ridiculed and laughed at, by those who could afford to buy gilt-covered books, and go to Drury Lane and Covent-Garden This double injustice of withholding knowledge and good manners, and then making sport of ignorance and clownishness, has been so long pursued that some of its natural consequences are fast developing. The ignorant and debased, knowing nothing of the gratifications of intelligence and refinement, have invented a few modes of fun and merrymaking, peculiar to themselves;—such as the burning of cornstacks and hay-ricks, and the sprinkling of vitriol on magnificent dresses. Being disqualified for the use, and debarred from the dignity of the ballot-box, they betake themselves to the tinder-box. The light of they love company too well not to reduce the diamond-studded robes of lords and prelates, to the value of their own beggarly rags. And is there not a close resemblance between these pastimes of the 'high' and the 'low?' An educated nobleman regales himself, at the theatre or in his palace, with a farce or a novel, where the uncouth language and awkward manners of the poor and the neglected are made ridiculous; and, as he alights from, or re-enters his emblazoned carriage, a dexterous villian *pinks* a thousand eyelet holes through his dress of ermine, or cloth of gold, by the skilfully sprinkled contents of a vitrol bottle. The one enjoys a farce in *three* acts; the other, in *one* act. The wit in both instances, must consist in the *incongruity*; and, as to the *humanity* of the sports, the latter seems every whit as legitimate a source of amusement as the former; or, to speak *phrenologically*, the pleasure, in both cases, is felt in the same part of the head. To a benevolent and Christian mind, how unutterably shocking are the extremes of such a state of society; and what terrible retributions follow in the train of selfish legislation!

*Whole population, 737,699;—No. between 4 and 16, (omitting three small towns,) 184,-392. Now 184,392x4=737,568. So far as there is any difference, the proportion of children to adults would be greatest in the new States.

† There is of course, some *domestic* education. But this exists, but seldom, excepting in favor of those children who *also* go to school.

ers and the mothers of the next generation, the depositaries of all we hold dear,—in fine, to be the electors, *or the elected*, for all our magistracy. This class alone will annually furnish a number of voters, far greater than the average popular majority by which our presidents have been chosen. And even this statement, fearfully large as it is, does not include those foreigners who are coming, thousands every week, to mingle with our people,—and very soon to take part in the choice of all our officers.

It was the observation of one of the most philosophical foreigners who has ever visited this country, (George Combe, Esq.,) that probably a majority of all the voters in the United States, were under thirty-five or thirty-six years of age. I think an examination of the last census would verify this remark. It would require then but fourteen years—or three and a half presidential terms,—a period almost identical with that which has elapsed, since the election of Gen. Jackson—to bring forward a numerical majority of voters who have never possessed either the intellectual or the moral advantages of a school;—and to whom the interior of a schoolroom would be as novel an object as the interior of an Egyptian pyramid. and the books and apparatus of the former as unintelligible as the hieroglyphics of the latter. Indeed, why are not the political destinies of the country already in such hands? This class from their profound ignorance, will necessarily be incapable of discerning principles, or of appreciating arguments;—accessible through the passions alone; creating demagogues for leaders, and then destroying them, just as naturally as a barbarian makes an idol of a stock, or a serpent, and then hews it down, or kills it, when it does not answer his ridiculous or selfish prayers. Nor will this class of men necessarily attach themselves to any one party; but they will be, like the shifting ballast of a vessel, always on the wrong side.

I have spoken only of that half of our rising population,—our future rulers,—who, from infancy to manhood, are rarely in any school of any kind. But, in no house for education is there any charm or magic, of such transforming power, as to turn an ignorant child into a capable citizen. What is the house; what the course of study and the appliances; who the teacher, and how long the attendance; become here significant questions. In regard to the moiety who, at some period of their minority, may be found in the schoolroom, look at the edifices where they assemble, which must have been first called *Temples of Science* by some bitter ironist;—consider, their meager outfit of books and apparatus; reflect upon the strong tendency, in all uneducated quarters, to keep a show-school, instead of a useful one; and think, for a moment, of the character of a portion, at least, of the teachers, whose only evidence of competency is, that nothing has been made in vain, and that they have failed in every thing before undertaken. It is by force of these adverse circumstances, that even in Massachusetts, although the compensation is far higher than in any other State in the Union, yet so niggardly are many teachers paid, and so little sympathy and social consideration do they receive, that young men, not unfrequently, desert the occupation of school-keeping and resort to our cities to let themselves out as servants in kitchens, or as grooms in stables;—well knowing that a kitchen, as destitute of apparatus as our common schoolrooms, is a thing unheard of, even in an alms-house; and that, if they keep their horses sleek and nimble, they will be better rewarded than if they 'trained up children in the way they should go.' Female teachers, too, abandon the schoolroom for the factory,—for they have learned that a spinning-frame, or a power-loom, has no mother to abuse and defame them for making it work, as it ought to work. And in those parts of the country where there are no Public Schools, but where a few of the wealthy procure their own teachers, how often are the private tutors and governesses treated as mere upper servants in the family, or even made the scape-goat for a child's offences;—as, in former times, it is said to have been the practice in England, when the king's son was sent to school, to send another boy with him as his companion, whose vicarious duty it was to receive all the flagellations due to the misdemeanors of his royal school-fellow.

In looking at the last census of the United States, one might infer that, at least, something adequate to the exigencies of the times, had been done, in the higher departments of education. The census shows a list of one hundred and seventy-three universities or colleges, with more than sixteen thousand students. I rejoice in the existence of any institutions for the increase of knowledge among the people; but the honor of education is rather tarnished than brightened, by giving a President and Faculty,—instead of a prudential committee man,—to a district school, and then calling it a college. The census gives to Massachusetts but *four* colleges, with 759 students. What, then, are we to think of the *twelve* colleges, set down to Maryland, (with less than three sevenths of our free white population, and with almost twelve thousand over the age of 20, unable to read and write,) with 813 students;—of the *thirteen* colleges, set down to Virginia, with 1,097 students; of the *ten*, in Kentucky, with 1,419 students; and of the *eighteen*, in Ohio, with 1,717 students. Some of these colleges or universities, at the West and South, I know are well conducted, and embrace a competent range of studies; but whoever has visited many of the institutions bearing these high sounding names, inquired into their course of studies, marked the ages of the students, and seen the juvenile alumni, well knows, that the amount of instruction there given bears no greater proportion to what a liberal college course of studies should be, than the narrow circuit of a mill horse, to the vast circumference of the Hippodrome.

And what are we doing, as a people, to

supply these great deficiencies? What intellectual lights are we kindling to repel the night of ignorance, whose coming on will bring, not only darkness, but chaos?

There is not a single State in this whole Union, which is doing any thing at all proportionate to the exigency of the case. The most that can be said is, that there are three States out of the twenty-six which have adopted some commendable measures for the promotion of this great work. These are Massachusetts, New York and Michigan,—the first by sustaining her Board of Education, by her Normal Schools, and her District School Libraries;—the second by her District School Libraries, her fund, and her county superintendents of schools;—and the third, by her magnificent fund, and her State superintendency of education. Five years ago, Ohio entered upon the work, but after about two years, the measure was substantially abandoned. Four years ago, a new system was established in Connecticut, which was most efficiently and beneficially administered, under the auspices of one of the ablest and best of men, (Henry Barnard, 2d. Esq ;)—but it is with unspeakable regret I am compelled to add, that within the last month, all her measures for improvement have been swept from the statute-book. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky may be mentioned as exhibiting signs of life on this subject, although it is a life which far more nearly resembles the imitative and feeble movements of infancy, than the independent and conscious energy of manhood.

In but few of the other States, can even a well digested system for the organization of schools be found in the statue-book; and in most of them, the meager provisions upon the subject seem to have been inserted, only as a sort of ornamental legislation, and are disregarded or obsolete. And, what is most painful and humiliating to reflect upon, in all the principal slave States,—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and so forth,—the highest homage which is paid to the beneficent power of education, is the terrible homage of making it a severely punishable offence, to educate a slave!

Now, even within the narrow horizon of the politician, what is the result of this neglect of childhood, and the consequent ignorance of men? When an election is coming on, whether State or National, then the rival parties begin to play their game for the ignorant, and to purchase the saleable. Mass-meetings are held Hired speakers itinerate through the country. A thousand tireless presses are plied, day and night. Newspapers and pamphlets are scattered thick as snow-flakes in a wintry storm Reading-rooms and committee-rooms are opened, and men abandon busines and family to fill them. The census is taken anew, and every man is labelled or ear-marked As the contest approaches, fraud, intimidation, bribes, are rife. Immense sums are spent to carry the lame, to hunt up the skulking, to force the indifferent to the polls. Taxes are contributed, to qualify voters, and men are transported, at party expense, from one State to another. Couriers are despatched from county to county, or from State to State, to revive the desponding with false news of success. And after all this, even if a party chances to succeed in its choice of men, what security has it, for the fulfilment of any of its plans? Death may intervene. A 'unit' cabinet may explode, and be scattered into many fragments. A party cemented together by no principle of moral cohesion, and founded upon no well settled convictions of the intellect, may be broken in pieces, like the image of Nebuchdnezzar. Ten thousand retainers of the camp, who followed it only through hope of plundering the dead, will scent other spoils in another camp, when that hope is extinguished; and thus all the toil that was endured, and the expenditures and sacrifices that were made, will be lost.

For the last ten years, such have been the disastrous fluctuations of our National and State policy, on the single subject of the currency, that all the prodigality of nature, pouring her hundreds of millions of products, annually into our hands, has not been able to save thousands of our people from poverty; and in many cases, economy, industry and virtue could not rescue their possessor from want. And why? I answer, as one reason, because this question has been decided, again and again, by voters who could not read and write,—by voters to whom the simplest proposition in political economy, or in national finance, is as unintelligible as a book of Hebrew or Greek. Should such men vote right, *at any one time*, it would be for a wrong reason; and the favorable chances being exhausted, they may be relied upon to vote wrong ever afterwards. Hence, under one administration, we have had a bank, under another, a sub-treasury, and the third may be commended to the benefit of its own bankrupt law.

During all this time, the course of our government, on this and other great questions of policy, has been vacillating,—enacting and repealing, advancing and receding, baffling all the plans of the wisest;—instead of imitating in some good degree, as it should do, the steadiness and force of the Divine administration.

And who are they who have suffered most under these changes which so nearly resemble anarchy? Whose property has been dissipated? Whose enterprises have been baffled? Are they not mostly those who have been, not merely neglectful, but disdainful, of the Common Schools? who have given whatever wealth they had to give, to public libraries, to colleges, and the higher seminaries of learning? who have separated their children from the mass, and gathered them into class, and clan, and sectarian schools of their own? who have opposed legislative grants and municipal taxation; and who, for their whole lives, have never countenanced, patronized, or even visited the Common School, from which their own rulers were so soon to emerge? What a remarkable fact it is in the history of this Commonwealth, that amongst all the

splendid donations,—amounting in the whole to many millions of dollars,—which have been made to colleges and academies, and to theological institutions for the purpose of upholding the doctrines of some particular sect;—only one man, embracing the *whole* of the rising generation in his philanthropic plan, and acting with a high and enlightened disregard of all local, partisan, and sectarian views, has given any considerable sum to promote the prosperity of Common Schools! (Hon. Edmund Dwight.)

And this series of disasters, under which we are suffering, must lengthen to an interminable train; those anxieties which the wealthy and the educated now feel for their purse, they must soon feel for their characters, their persons, and their families; the whole country must be involved in wider, deeper calamities, until a more noble and Christian policy is pursued. All the newspapers that steam power can print, during the most protracted political canvass, will be no equivalent for the single book in which a child learns to read. One mind trained to thought and investigation, upon the forms of the schoolroom, will arrive at sounder truths than can ever be impressed upon it by a hired political missionary. If we would have better times, the available school teacher must be sought for, as anxiously as the available candidate for office; and efforts as energetic must be made to bring children into the schools, as are now made to bring voters to the polls. If we would have better times, we need not honor or reward the *writers* of our past history,—Sparks, Bancroft, Irving,—less; but we must honor and reward the *makers* of our future history,—the school teachers,—more.

But I have labored to supererogation, to show both an existing and a prospective deficiency in knowledge, for managing the vast and precious interests of this great nation. I have shown,—if not an incurable, yet unless cured,—a fatal malady in the head; I must now exhibit a not less fatal malady in the heart. I tremble at the catalogue of national crimes which we are exhibiting before heaven an earth! The party rancor and vilification which rages through our newspaper press—in utter forgetfulness or contempt of the great spiritual law, that when men pass from judgment to passion, they will soon pass from passion to violence! The fraud, falsehood, bribery, perjury, perpetrated at our elections; and the spirit of wantonness or malice—of pride or envy, in which the sacred privilege of voting is exercised! The practice of double voting, like parricide in Rome, unheard of in the early days of the Republic, is becoming more and more frequent. Although, in some of the States, a property qualification, and in some even a landed qualification is necessary; yet the number of votes given at the last presidential election, equalled, almost without a fraction, one sixth part of the whole free population in the Union. In one of the States the number of votes exceeded, by a large fraction, one fifth of the whole population—men, women, and children. Will it not be a new form of a Republic—unknown alike to ancient or modern writers; when the question shall be—not how many voters there are, but how many ballots can be printed and put surreptitiously into the ballot-box? Then, there is the fraudulent sequestration of votes, by the returning officers, because the majority is adverse to their own favorite candidates—which has now been done, on a large scale, in three of the principal States in the Union! The scenes of violence enacted, not only *without*, but *within* the Capitol of the nation; and the halls, which should be consecrated to order, and solemnity, and a devout consultation upon the unspeakable magnitude and value of the interests of this great people, desecrated by outrage, and Bilingsgate, and drunken braws! Challenges given, and duels fought by members of Congress, in violation, or evasion, of their own lately enacted law against them; and within the space of a few days, a proud and prominent member, from a proud and prominent State—the countryman of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, put under bonds *to keep the peace*, like a wild, fresh-landed Carib. In two of our legislative assemblies, one member has been murdered by another member, in open day, and during the hours of session; in one of the cases, the deed being perpetrated by the presiding officer of the assembly, who descended from his chair, and pierced the heart of his victim with a bowie knife—and still goes unpunished though not unhonored. What outbreaks of violence all over the country; the lynching of five men, at one time, at Vicksburg; the valley of the Mississippi, from St. Louis to New Orleans, lighted, almost as with watch-fires, by the burning of human beings; the riots and demolitions, at New York, at Philadelphia, at Baltimore, at Alton, at Cincinnati; yes, and the spectacle of our own more serene part of the heavens, crimsoned, at midnight, by a conflagration of the dwelling place of women and female children—a deed incited and brutally executed, through prejudice, and hostility towards a sect which takes the liberty to protest against Protostants, as Protestants protested against them!

And, in addition to this barbarian force and lawlessness, are not the business relations of the community contaminated, more and more, with speculation and knavery? In mercantile honor and honesty, in the intercourse between buyer and seller, is there not a luxation of all the joints of the body commercial and social? The number of fraudulent bankruptcies,—fraudulent in the incurring of the debts, if not in the surrender of the assets;—the rapacity of speculation; the breaches of private trust; the embezzlement of corporate funds; the abscondings with government property; the malversations of government fiduciaries, whether of a United States Bank, or of a Girard College; the repudiation of State debts;—and that other class of offences which combines the criminality both of fraud and force,—such as the shooting of a sheriff, who attempted to execute civil process,—or the burning of a bank with all its contents, by a company of debtors, in Mississippi, because their notes had been lodged in it for collection!

I trust the fact will not fail to be observed, and the motive to be appreciated, that, from this terrific array of enormities I have omitted one entire class of events;—a class which may be though by some more ominous of ill than any I have enumerated. I refer to such facts as the late commotions in Rhode Island ensuing upon the long-delayed extension of suffrage;—the legislative declaration already made in two of the States, of an intention to disregard the apportionment law, recently passed by the general government;—the admission to a seat, in the House of Representatives of the last Congress, of the claimants from New Jersey, against the credentials of the State authorities;—the refusal of one branch of the Tennessee Legislature to elect Senators to fill vacancies in the Senate of the United States;—the admission into the Union of Territories which had exercised, by assumption, the right of forming a constitution for themselves, without any authority from the general government, or any law prescribing the mode in which it should be done;—the armed 'nullification' of South Carolina, &c. &c. I omit all this class of cases from the catalogue, because they are, at present, implicated with strong party feelings, on one side or the other; and it is my intention, on this day, to touch no party chord;—to bring forward nothing, either of fact or of principle, which the candid men of all parties shall not acknowlege to be a compulsive reason for immediate measures of reform.

Let us look at another aspect of this case. The number of convicts at present in confinement, in the penitentiaries, and State prisons of the Union, is very nearly four thousand seven hundred and fifty; and the average duration of their imprisonment is four years. The number under sentence *for crime*, in common jails, and houses of correction, is not less than the preceding, and the average length of their imprisonment is estimated at six months. Suppose that these culprits live, on an average, but eight years after their enlargement; and we have the appalling number of *eighty-five thousand five hundred* convicted criminals,—proved offenders against the laws of God and man,—almost universally adults,—at large, mingling in our society, and a very large portion of them competent to vote; there being but three States in all this Union, where, by the constitution of the State, a conviction for felony, or any infamous offence, works a forfeiture of the elective franchise. YES! *voters, good and true*,—for the wrong side, and to send you and me to perdition! And I do not believe there is one State in the Union, whose elections for Governor and other high officers, have not, sometimes, been so nearly a drawn game, that its quota of this felon host,—its own batallion of sin, would not have been able to decide them, by what a politician would call—a very respectable majority!

I have somewhere seen the number of atheists,—of Abner Kneeland's men,—in the United States, stated fearfully high; but upon what authority, or after what extent and accuracy, of investigation, I am not able to say. These are all *men*,—if not *voters*;—for, thank Heaven, the female heart is untenantable by atheism. But a fact, far more important than the number of *theoretical* atheists, is, the number of *practical* atheists,—of those who live without God in the world,—who have neither faith nor practice, respecting the existence, the immutability, and the inevitable execution of the Divine Laws. I say the number of *practical* atheists is the question of greater importance; for who can live in this world and mingle with its people, and not be more deeply impressed, day by day, with the divine wisdom of the criterion, 'By their fruits ye shall know them?' Actions are fruits, while pharisaical professions are only gilded signs or placards, hung upon thistles or thornbushes, saying, 'Ho, all ye; *we* bear figs and grapes!'

In this review, I pass by those combinations of ignorance and false teaching, which lead to Mormonism, and Millerism, and Perfectionism. I pass by that recklessness and flagitious spirit, which, on the Canadian border, lately came so near to involving us in a conflict with the most powerful nation on earth. I pass by our treatment of the aborigines. I pass by such an event as the Florida war, which has already cost this nation more than thirty millions of dollars; and which, as is now notorious, was instigated by desperadoes, because it promised to prove for them, as it has proved, a more lucrative business than other modes of swindling or depredation.

With irrepressible, but unspeakable joy, I pass by the hundreds of thousands of inebriates, who, so lately, lay weltering upon the sea of Intemperance;—yet who, periodically, were *rafted up*, by political partisans,—as men raft up float-wood,—to vomit their foul votes into the ballot-box, and elect the rulers of a self-called free and Christian people;—these do I gladly pass by, for the waters of that deluge are subsiding; and already thousands and ten thousands, yea, more than ten times ten thousand,—have found an Ararat on the *Terra Firma* of Abstinence.

Fellow-Citizens, from this glimpse,—this mere bird's-eye view,—of our intellectual and moral condition, I do not hesitate to affirm, that our republican edifice, at this time,—in present fact and truth,—is not sustained by those columns of solid and ever-enduring adamant, intelligence and virtue. Its various parts are only just clinging together by that remarkable cohesion,—that mutual bearing and support, which unsound portions of a structure may impart to each other; and which, as every mechanic well knows, will, for a time, hold the rotten materials of an edifice together, although not one of its timbers could support its own weight:—and unless, therefore, a new substructure can be placed beneath every buttress and angle of this boasted Temple of Liberty, it will soon totter and fall, and bury all indwellers in its ruins.

And what, I again ask, are we doing, to

impart soundness and permanency to that which we profess so much to value and admire? We all bear witness that there is but one salvation for the State,—*the knowledge of duty and the will to do it*, among the people. But what measures are we taking, to cause that knowledge to spring up, like a new intellectual creation, in every mind; and to cause that will to be quickened into life, in every breast? We all agree,—the universal experience and history of mankind being our authority,—that, in nineteen cases out of every twenty, if the human mind is ever to be expanded by knowledge and imbued with virtuous principles, it must be done during the susceptible years of childhood and youth. But when we come to the *sine qua non*,—to the *work*,—to the point where volition must issue forth into action, or it is valueless;—when we come to the taxing, to the building, to the books, to the apparatus, to the whole system, of preparatory and contemporaneous measures for carrying on, and perfecting the work of education;—where wishes and sympathy and verbal encouragement are nothing without the effective co-operation of those muscles which perform labor and transfer money;—when we come to this point, then excuses teem, and the well-wishers retire from the stage, like actors at the close of a drama. I gladly acknowledge that there are honorable exceptions, in all ranks and classes of men; and in no state in the Union, are there so many of these exceptions, as in Massachusetts; and yet even here, is it not most extensively true, that when we appeal to the different classes and occupations of men, we meet with indifference, if not with repulse? We solicit the farmer to visit the school, but he is too much engaged with the care of his stock, to look after his children. We apply to the tradesman, but his account of profit and loss must be adjusted before he can attend to the source of all profit and loss, in the mind. We call upon the physician, but he has too many patients in the arms of death, to allow him one hour for arresting the spread of a contagion by which, if neglected, hundreds of others must perish. We apply to the lawyer and the judge, but they are redressing the wrongs and avenging the violated laws of society,—they are so engaged in uncoiling the folds of a parent serpent which has wound itself round the State, that they cannot stop to crush a hundred of its young, ere they issue from the nest, to wind their folds alike around the State, and the law, and its ministers. We apply to the clergyman; he bids us God speed,—but commends us for assistance, to the first man we meet; for he and his flock are beleaguered by seven evil spirits, in the form of seven heresies,—each fatal to the souls of men. We sally forth from his doors, and the first man we meet is his clerical brother; but he, too, has seven fatal heresies to combat, and he solemnly assures us that the most dangerous leader of them all, is the man we have just left. We apply to the wealthy and the benevolent, who are carrying on vast religious enterprises abroad; but they have just shipped their cargoes of gold to Africa, to Asia, and to the uttermost isles of the sea, and can spare nothing;—never asking themselves the question, who, *in the next generation*, will support the enterprises they have begun, and retain the foothold they may require, if they suffer heathenism and the idolatry of worshiping base passions to spring up in their native land, and around their own doors. We go to those great antagonist, theological institutions, which have selected high social eminences, all over the land, and entrenched themselves against each other, as warring generals fortify their camps upon the summit of confronting hills;—we implore them to send out one wise and mighty man to guide this great people through a wilderness more difficult to traverse than that which stretched between Egypt and Canaan; but each hostile sect is engaged in propagating a creed which it *knows* to be true, against the fatal delusions of those various and opposite creeds, which each of the other sects also *knows* to be true! Oh! when will men learn, that ever since the Savior bowed his head upon the cross and said 'It is finished,' there has been truth enough in the world, to make all men wise and holy and happy. All that is wanted,—all that ever has been wanted, is,—minds that will appreciate truth. The barbarian cannot appreciate it, whether born in New Zealand, or in New England. The benighted and brutified child, whose thoughts are born of prejudice, whose actions of sensualism; whose moral sensibilities have been daily seared, from his birth, with the hot iron of vicious customs and maxims, cannot discern truth, cannot know it, will not embrace it, whether his father is called a savage or a Christian. If we say that the conceptions and desires of such minds are a transcript of Divine truth, what do we affirm the original to be! No! Two different elements are essential to the existence of truth in the soul of man;—first, the essence, or prototype of truth, as it exists in the Divine Intelligence; and secondly, a human soul, sufficiently enlightened by knowledge to conceive it, sufficiently exercised in judgment to understand it, and sufficiently free from evil to love it. The latter are every whit as essential as the former. The human mind must be so enlarged that truth can enter it, and so free from selfishness, from pride and intolerance, that truth may be its constant and welcome resident. To give truth a passport to the souls of men, to ensure it home and supremacy in the human heart, there must be some previous awakening and culture of the intellectual and moral nature. In this respect, it is with spiritual, as with scientific truth. The great astronomical truths which pertain to the solar system, have existed ever since the creation;—for generations past, they have been known to the learned;—and all the planets, as they move, are heralds and torch-bearers, sent round by the hand of God, revolution after revolution, and age after

age, to make perpetual proclamation through all their circuits, and to light up the heavens, from side to side, with ocular and refulgent demonstration of their existence; and yet, until their elements are all laboriously taught, until our minds are opened, and made capacious for their reception, these glorious truths are a blank, and for our vision and joy, might as well never have been. And so of all truth;—there must be a mind enlarged, ennobled, purified, to embrace truth, in all its beauty, sublimity and holiness, as well as beautiful, sublime and holy truths to be embraced. Until this is so, truth will be a light shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehending it not. But when this shall come to pass, then the awakened soul will exclaim with Jacob, 'surely the Lord was in this place, and I knew it not" Yet,—alike in all lands and for centuries past,—ninety-nine hundredths of all human efforts and expenditures have been devoted to force, upon the successive generations of the young, some special system, which happened in the particular age, to be in the ascendant; and which, in its turn, had been prejudged by fallible men, to be infallibly true;—while scarcely any thing has been done to kindle the love of truth in the human breast, and to train the intellect to strength and impartiality in all investigations after it.

Fellow-Citizens, there is one strongly developed tendency in our political affairs which I cannot pass by, on an occasion like this, without an admonitory word. Though less obvious, yet it is of more evil portent, than any in the dark catalogue I have exhibited, It leads by swift steps to proximate ruin. I refer to the practice of the different political parties, into which we are unhappily divided, of seizing upon some specious aspect of every event, giving it an exaggerated and factitious importance, and perverting it to factious profit. In common and expressive phrase, this is called *making political capital* out of a thing; and the art of making this *capital* seems now to be incorporated into the regular tactics of party leaders. But it is forged capital, and in the end, it must bring forger and accomplices to judgment and condemnation, as well as their dupes to political and moral insolvency. In law, such practices, or rather mal-practices, are called *chicanery;* and they justly subject to infamy, the practitioner who is corrupted with them. But law deals with private interests,—politics with the vaster interests of the whole community. And why should not the trick and knavery which strike a man's name from the roll of the court, strike it also from the red book of the nation! Look at it, Fellow-Citizens;—a great question arises in the Legislative Halls of the State or Nation, or springs up in any part of our country; and immediately the party leaders and the party press reflect before the eyes of all the people, —not segments or fragments, even,—but distorted and discolored images of all the truths, facts and principles, pertaining to that question,—so distorted and discolored that no impartiality or patience can reproduce any likeness to the original. So extensive has this practice become, that an honest inquirer into the merits of men or measures, in reading accounts of the same individuals or transactions, in the rival newspapers of the day, would suppose them to relate to wholly different men and different measures, were it not for the occasional identity of the proper names which are used. Must it not follow that the vast majority of the people will get mutilated and false views; and come, habitually, to decide the real question by looking at the counterfeited, until the mind itself is as perverted as the lights which shine upon it. Immense responsibilities attach here to all who influence public opinion, whether they sit in the presidential, or gubernatorial, or editorial chair. The habit of ascribing, to trivial and fleeting considerations, the prominence and inviolability of eternal laws; the habit of discarding at every political crisis, the great principles which lie under the whole length of existence, and are the only possible basis of our well-being, in order to gain some temporary end; the habit, at our oft-recurring elections, of risking all future consequences, to secure present success, is high treason against the sovereignty of truth, and must be the harbinger of a speedy destruction. We can conceive of no power in the universe, that could uphold its throne, under so fatal a policy.

I do not advert to this prominent feature of our times,—worthy of far more extended consideration,—in order that one party may look into the conduct of its adversaries, to find cause of accusation; but that each may look upon its own course, and in view of it, demand and effect a speedy amendment.

Fellow-Citizens, amidst the distractions which now rend the country, let me ask you, as sober and reflecting men, what remedy do you propose for the present? What security for the future? Evils are not avoided by closing our eyes against them;—and, in which direction do you look for hope, without confronting disappointment or despair? Will the great political and financial problems which now agitate the Union, ever be rightly solved and permanently adjusted, while they are submitted, year after year, to voters who cannot even read and write? Can any additional intelligence and integrity be expected in our rulers, without additional intelligence and integrity in the constituency that elects them? Complain of President or Congress as much as we will, they are the very men whom we, the people, have chosen. If the country is an active volcano of ignorance and guilt, why should not Congress be a crater for the outgushing of its lava? Will Providence interfere to rescue us by a miracle, while we are voluntarily pursuing a course, which would make a speedier interference, and a more stupendous miracle necessary for our subsequent rescue? How much of time, of talent, and of wealth, we are annually expending,—in Legislatures, in political conventions, through newspapers,—to gain adherents to one system of policy, or its op-

posite, to an old party or to a new one;—but how little to rear a people with minds capable of understanding systems of policy, when developed, and of discerning between the right and the wrong, in the parties which beset and would inveigle them. What honors and emoluments are showered upon successful politicians; what penury and obscurity are the portion of those who are moulding the character of a rising generation of sovereigns! And here let not the truth be forgotten, that the weightiest obligation to foster and perfect the work of education, lies upon those States which enjoy the most, and not upon those which suffer under the least; for to whomsoever much is given, of them shall much be required.

Let us suppose that we were now overtaken by some great crisis in our national affairs,—such as we have already seen, or may soon see,—let us suppose that, in the issue of some presidential contest, for instance, not only the public interests of the nation, but the private interests of thousands of individuals, should be adroitly implicated; and that preparations should be made, and a zeal excited, corresponding to the magnitude of the occasion. War impends. Commerce, manufactures, agriculture, are at stake, or in conflict. The profits of capital, and the wages of labor, have been made to antagonize. North and South are confronted. Rich and poor, high and low, radical and conservative, bigot and latitudinarian, are marshalled for the onset. The expectants of office,—suffering under a four, perhaps an eight years' famine, are rioting on anticipated spoils. The spume of other countries and the refuse of our own are coalescing, and some Catiline is springing to the head of every ruffian band. Excitement foams through all the veins of the body politic;—in some it is fever; in others delirium; and under these auspices, or omens, the eventful day arrives.

It surely requires but little effort of the imagination to picture forth the leaders of all the party-colored bands into which our country is divided, as at the head of their respective companies, and gathering them to a mightier assembly than ever met in Grecian Areopagus or Roman Comitia. Among the vast and motley-souled hosts, which such a day would summon together, I will direct your attention to but two grand divisions;—divisions, however, of this republican army, which would be first in the field, and most contentious for the victory;—I mean the legionaries of Crime and those of Ignorance.

Behold, on this side, crowding to the polls, and even candidates for the highest offices in the gift of the people, are those whose hands are red with a brother's blood, slain in private quarrel! Close pressing upon these, urges onward a haughty band glittering in wealth,—but, for every flash that gleams from jewel and diamond, a father, a mother, and helpless children, have been stolen, and sold into ransomless bondage. Invading their ranks, struggles forward a troop of assassins, rioters, lynchers, incendiaries, who have hitherto escaped the retributions of law, and would now annihilate the law whose judgments they fear;—behind these, pours on, tumultuous, the chaotic rout of atheism;—and yonder dashes forward a sea of remorseless life—thousands and ten thousands—all felons, convicts, condemned by the laws of God and man. In all the dread catalogue of mortal sins, there is not one, but, in that host, there are hearts which have willed, and hands which have perpetrated it. The gallows has spared its victim, the prison has released its tenants—from dark cells where malice had brooded, where incendiarism and lust had engendered their machinations, where revenge and robbery had held their nightly rehearsals, the leprous multitude is disgorged, and comes up to the ballot-box to fore-doom the destinies of this nation. In gazing at this multitudinous throng, who emerge from their hiding-places on the days of our elections—all flagrant with crime and infamy—would not every man exclaim, 'I did not know, I could not have thought, that all the foul kennels and stews of earth; nay, nor all the gorged avenues of hell, could regurgitate upon the world, these legions of iniquity!'

But look, again, on the other side, at that deep and dense array of Ignorance, whose limits the eye cannot discover. Its van leans against us here, its rear is beyond the distant hills. They too, in this hour of their country's peril, have come up to turn the folly of which they are unconscious, into measures which they cannot understand, by votes which they cannot read. Nay more, and worse! for, from the ranks of crime, emissaries and bandit-leaders are sallying forth towards the ranks of ignorance, and hieing to and fro amongst them—shouting the gibberish war-cries of faction, and flaunting banners with lying symbols, such as cheat the eye of a mindless brain—and thus the hosts of crime are to lead on the hosts of ignorance, in their assault upon Liberty and Law!

What, now, shall be done to save the citadel of freedom, where are treasured all the hopes of posterity? Or, if we can survive the peril of such a day, what shall be done, to prevent the next generation from sending forth still more numerous hordes—afflicted with deeper blindness and incited by darker depravity?

Are there any here, who would counsel us to save the people from themselves, by wresting from their hands this formidable right of ballot? Better for the man who would propose this remedy to an infuriate multitude, that he should stand in the lightning's path as it descends from heaven to earth. And, answer me this question; you! who would reconquer for the few, the power which has been won by the many;—you! who would disfranchise the common mass of mankind, and recondemn them to become Helots, and bond-men, and feudal serfs;—tell me, were they again in the power of your castes, would you not again neglect them, again

oppress them, again make them the slaves to your voluptuousness, and the panders or the victims of your vices? Tell me, you royalists and hierarchs, or advocates of royalty and hierarchy! were the poor and the ignorant again in your power, to be tasked and tithed at your pleasure, would you not turn another Ireland into paupers, and colonize another Botany Bay with criminals? Would you not brutify the men of other provinces into the '*Dogs of Vendee*,' and debase the noble and refined nature of woman, in other cities, into the '*Poissardes of Paris?*' O! better, far better, that the atheist and the blasphemer, and he who, since the last setting sun, has dyed his hands in parricide, or his soul in sacrilege, should challenge equal political power with the wisest and the best;—better, that these blind Sampsoms, in the wantonness of their gigantic strength, should tear down the pillars of the Republic, than that the great lesson which Heaven, for six thousand years, has been teaching to the world, should be lost upon it;—the lesson that the intellectual and moral nature of man is the one thing precious in the sight of God; and therefore, until this nature is cultivated, and enlightened, and purified, neither opulence nor power, nor learning nor genius, nor domestic sanctity, nor the holiness of God's altars, can ever be safe. Until the immortal and god-like capacities of every being that comes into the world are deemed more worthy, are watched more tenderly, than any other thing, no dynasty of men, or form of government, can stand, or shall stand, upon the face of the earth; and the force or the fraud which would seek to uphold them, shall be but 'as fetters of flax to bind the flame.'

In all that company of felons and caitiffs, who prowl over the land, is there one man, who did not bring with him into life, the divine germ of conscience, a sensibility to right, and capacities which might have been nurtured and trained into the fear of God, and the love of man? In all this company of ignorance, which, in its insane surgery, dissects eye and brain and heart, and maims every limb of the body politic, to find the disease, which honestly, though blindly, it wishes to cure;—in all this company, is there one, who did not bring with him into life, noble faculties of thought—capabilities of judgment, and prudence, and skill that might have been cultivated into a knowledge, an appreciation, and a wise and loving guardianship, of all human interests and human rights. The wickedness and blindness of the subject are the judgments of heaven for the neglect of the sovereign;—for, to this end and to no other, was superiority given to a few, and the souls of all men pre-adapted to pay spontaneous homage to strength and talent and exalted station, that through the benignant and attractive influence of their possessors, the whole race might be won to wisdom and virtue.

Let those, then, whose wealth is lost or jeoparded by fraud or misgovernment; let those who quake with apprehension for the fate of all they hold dear; let those who behold and lament the desecration of all that is holy; let rulers whose counsels are perplexed, whose plans are baffled, whose laws defied or evaded;—let them all know, that whatever ills they feel or fear, are but the just retributions of a righteous heaven for neglected childhood.

Remember, then, the child whose voice first lisps to-day, before that voice shall whisper sedition in secret, or thunder treason at the head of an armed band. Remember the child whose hand, to-day, first lifts its tiny bauble, before that hand shall scatter firebrands, arrows and death. Remember those sportive groups of youth in whose halcyon bosoms there sleeps an ocean, as yet scarcely ruffled by the passions, which soon shall heave it as with the tempest's strength. Remember, that whatever station in life you may fill, these mortals—these immortals, are your care. Devote, expend, consecrate yourselves to the holy work of their improvement. Pour out light and truth, as God pours sunshine and rain. No longer seek knowledge as the luxury of a few, but dispense it amongst all as the bread of life. Learn only how the ignorant may learn; how the innocent may be preserved; the vicious reclaimed. Call down the astronomer from the skies; call up the geologist from his subterranean explorations; summon, if need be, the mightiest intellects from the Council Chamber of the nation; enter cloistered halls, where the scholiast muses over superflous annotations; dissolve conclave and synod, where subtle polemics are vainly discussing their barren dogmas;—collect whatever of talent, or erudition, or eloquence, or authority, the broad land can supply, *and go forth*, AND TEACH THIS PEOPLE. For, in the name of the living God, it must be proclaimed, that licentiousness shall be the liberty; and violence and chicanery shall be the law; and superstition and craft shall be the religion; and the self-destructive indulgence of all sensual and unhallowed passions, shall be the only happiness of that people who neglect the education of their children.

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prescribe the conditions of its transfer to another. If he does
ditions, then let him abandon the [illegible]

OF

MR. HORACE MANN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, JUNE 30, 1848,

ON THE RIGHT OF CONGRESS TO LEGISLATE FOR THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES, AND ITS DUTY TO EXCLUDE SLAVERY THEREFROM.

Mr. Chairman: I have listened with interest, both yesterday and to-day, to speeches on what is called the "Presidential Question." I propose to discuss a question of far greater magnitude, — the question of the age, — one whose consequences will not end with the ensuing four years, but will reach forward to the setting of the sun of time.

Sir, our position is this: The United States finds itself the owner of a vast region of country at the West, now almost vacant of inhabitants. Parts of this region are salubrious and fertile. We have reason to suppose, that, in addition to the treasures of wealth which industry may gather from its surface, there are mineral treasures beneath it, — riches garnered up of old in subterranean chambers, and only awaiting the application of intelligence and skill to be converted into the means of human improvement and happiness. These regions, it is true, lie remote from our place of residence. Their shores are washed by another sea, and it is no figure of speech to say that another sky bends over them. So remote are they, that their hours are not as our hours, nor their day as our day; and yet, such are the wonderful improvements in art, in modern times, as to make it no rash anticipation, that, before this century shall have closed, the inhabitants on the Atlantic shores will be able to visit their brethren on the Pacific in ten days; and that intelligence will be transmitted and returned between the Eastern and the Western oceans in ten minutes. That country, therefore, will be rapidly filled, and we shall be brought into intimate relations with it, and, notwithstanding its distance, into proximity to it.

Now, in the providence of God, it has fallen to our lot to legislate for this unoccupied, or but partially occupied, expanse. Its great Future hangs upon our decision. Not only degrees of latitude and longitude, but vast tracts of time, — ages and centuries, — seem at our disposal. As are the institutions which we form and establish there, so will be the men whom these institutions, in their turn, will form. Nature works by fixed laws; but we can bring this or that combination of circumstances under the operation of her laws, and thus determine results. Here springs up our responsibility. One class of institutions will gather there one class of men, who will develop one set of characteristics; another class of institutions will gather there another class of men, who will develop other characteristics. Hence, their futurity is to depend upon our present course. Hence, the acts we are to perform seem to partake of the nature of creation, rather than of legislation. Standing upon the elevation which we now occupy, and looking over into that empty world, "yet void," if not "without form," but soon to be filled with multitudinous life, and reflecting upon our power to give form and character to that life, and almost to foreordain what it shall be, I feel as though it would be no irrever-

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oppress them, again make them the slaves to your voluptuousness, and the panders or the victims of your vices? Tell me, you royalists and hierarchs, or advocates of roy-

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t of attributes, roaching this o the infinite,

As far as the time allowed me will permit, I propose to discuss two questions. The first is — "*Whether Congress can lawfully legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories.*"

On this question a new and most extraordinary doctrine has lately been broached. A new reading of the Constitution has been discovered. It is averred that the 3d section of the 4th article, giving Congress power "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," only gives power to legislate for the land *as land*. It is admitted that Congress may legislate for the land *as land*, — geologically or botanically considered, — perhaps for the beasts that roam upon its surface, or the fishes that swim in its waters; but it is denied that Congress possesses any power to determine the laws and the institutions of those who shall inhabit that "land."

But compare this with any other object of purchase or possession. When Texas was admitted into the Union, it transferred its "navy" to the United States; in other words, the United States bought, and of course owned, the navy of Texas. What power had Congress over this navy, after the purchase? According to the new doctrine, it could pass laws for the hull, the masts, and the sails of the Texan ships, but would have no power to navigate them by officers and men. It might govern the ships as so much wood, iron, and cordage, but would have no authority over commanders or crews.

But we are challenged to show any clause in the Constitution which confers an *express* power to legislate over the Territories we possess. I challenge our opponents to show any clause which confers express power to acquire those territories themselves. If, then, the power to acquire exists, it exists by implication and inference; and if the power *to acquire* be an implied one, the power *to govern what is acquired* must be implied also. For, for what purpose does any man acquire property but to govern and control it? What does a buyer pay for, if it be not the right to "dispose of?" Such is the doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States: "The right to govern," says Chief Justice Marshall, "may be the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire." *Amer. Ins. Co.* vs. *Canter*, 1 *Peters*, 542. See also *McCullough* vs. *Maryland*, 4 *Wheat.*, 422. *The Cherokee Nation* vs. *Georgia*, 5 *Peters*, 44. *United States* vs. *Gratiot*, 14 *Peters*, 537.

But I refer to the express words of the Constitution, as ample and effective in conferring all the power that is claimed. "Congress may dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations," &c. If Congress may "dispose of" this land, then it may sell it. Inseparable from the right to sell is the right to define the terms of sale. The seller may affix such conditions and limitations as he pleases to the thing sold. If this be not so, then the buyer may dictate his terms to the seller. Answer these simple questions: Supposing the United States to own land in fee-simple, then, is the government under guardianship, or disabled by minority? Is it *compos mentis?* If none of these disabilities apply to it, then it may sell. It may sell the fee-simple, or it may carve out any lesser estate, and sell that. It may incorporate such terms and conditions as it pleases into its deed or patent of sale. It may make an outright quit-claim, or it may reserve the minerals for its own use, or the navigable streams for public highways, as it has done in the territory north-west of the river Ohio. It may insert the conditions and limitations in each deed or patent; or, where the grantees are numerous, it may make general "rules and regulations," which are understood to be a part of each contract, and are therefore binding upon each purchaser. No man is compelled to buy; but if any one does buy, he buys subject to the "rules and regulations" expressed in the grants; and neither he, nor his grantees, nor his or their heirs after them, can complain. I want, therefore, no better foun-

dation for legislating over the Territories than the fact of ownership in the United States. Grant this, and all is granted. If I own a farm, or a shop, I may, as owner, prescribe the conditions of its transfer to another. If he does not like my conditions, then let him abandon the negotiation; if he accedes to the conditions, then let him abide by them, and hold his peace.

Sir, in the State to which I belong, we hold Temperance to be a great blessing, as well as a great virtue; and Intemperance to be a great curse, as well as a great sin. I know of incorporated companies there, who have purchased large tracts of land for manufacturing purposes. They well know how essential is the sobriety of workmen to the profitableness of their work; they know, too, how wasteful and destructive is inebriety. In disposing of their land, therefore, to the men whom they would gather about them and employ, they incorporate the provision, as a fundamental article in the deed of grant, that ardent spirits shall never be sold upon the premises; and thus they shut up, at once, one of the most densely thronged gateways of hell. Have they not a right to do so, from the mere fact of ownership? Would any judge or lawyer doubt the validity of such a condition; or would any sensible man ever doubt its wisdom or humanity? Pecuniarily and morally, this comes under the head of "needful rules and regulations." If tipplers do not like them, let them stagger away, and seek their residence elsewhere.

But the United States is not merely a land-owner; it is a Sovereignty. As such, it exercises all constitutional jurisdiction over all its Territories. Whence, but from this right of sovereignty, does the Government obtain its power of saying that no man shall purchase land of the natives, or aborigines; and that, if you wish to buy land in the Territories, you shall come to the Government for it? Is there any express power in the Constitution authorizing Congress to say to all the citizens of the United States, "If you wish to buy ungranted land in the Territories, you must come to us, for no one else can sell, or shall sell?" This right, sustained by all our legislation and adjudications, covers the whole ground. *Lessee of Johnson et al.* vs. *McIntosh*, 8 *Wheaton*, 543; 5 *Cond. Re.*, 515.

But, leaving the Constitution, it is denied that there are precedents. The honorable gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] has not only contested the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories, but he has denied the existence of precedents to sustain this power. Sir, it would have been an assertion far less bold, to deny the existence of precedents for the election of a President of the United States; for the instances of the latter have been far less frequent than of the former. Congress has legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territories all the way up, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time; and this legislation has been sustained by the judiciary of both the General and State Governments, and carried into execution by the Executive power of both. See *Menard* vs. *Aspasia*, 5 *Peters*, 505; *Phebe et al.* vs. *Jay*, *Breese's Re.*, 210; *Hogg* vs. *the Zanesville Canal Co.*, 5 *Ohio Re.*, 410; *Martin's Louisiana Re.*, *N. S.* 699; *Spooner* vs. *McConnell*, 1 *McLean's Re.*, 341; *Harvey* vs. *Deeker*, *Walker's Mississippi Re.*, 36; *Rachael* vs. *Walker*, 4 *Missouri Re.*, 350.

So far as the uniform practice of sixty years can settle a doubtful, or confirm an admitted right, this power of legislating over the Territories has been taken from the region of doubt, and established upon the basis of acknowledged authority. In legislating for all that is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, we have legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Sixty years of legislation on one side, and not a denial of the right on the other.

But the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] says, that the action of Congress, in regard to the Territories, has been rather that of constitution-making than of law-making. Suppose this to be true; does not the greater include the less? If Congress could make a constitution for all the Territories,—an organic, fundamental law,—a law of laws,—could it not, had it so pleased,

to support itself. It says, "Hitherto SHALT thou come, and no further." And if Congress can do this, can it not make the local law itself? Can aught be more preposterous? As if we could *command* others to do what we have no right to do ourselves, and prohibit others from doing what lies beyond our own jurisdiction. Surely, to decree on what subjects a community shall legislate, and on what they shall not legislate, is the exercise of the highest power.

But Congress has not stopped with the exercise of the constitution-making power. In various forms, and at all times, it has legislated for the Territories, in the strictest sense of the word *legislation*. It has legislated again and again, and ten times again, on this very subject of slavery. See the act of 1794, prohibiting the slave trade from "any port *or place*" in the United States. Could any citizen of the United States, under this act, have gone into one of our Territories and there have fitted out vessels for the slave trade? Surely he could, if Congress had no right to legislate over Territories only as so much land and water.

By statute 1798, chapter 28, § 7, slaves were forbidden to be brought into the Mississippi Territory from without the United States, and all slaves so brought in *were made free.*

So the act of 1800, chapter 51, in further prohibition of the slave trade, applied to all citizens of the United States, whether living in Territories or in organized States. Did not this legislation cover the Territories?

By statute 1804, chapter 38, § 10, three classes of slaves were forbidden to be introduced into the Orleans Territory.

Statute 1807, chapter 22, prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, prohibited their importation into the Territories in express terms.

Statute 1818, chapter 91, statute 1819, chapter 101, and statute 1820, chapter 113, prohibiting the slave trade, and making it piracy, expressly included all the Territories of the United States.

Statute 1819, chapter 21, authorized the President to provide for the safe-keeping of slaves imported from Africa, and for their removal to their home in that land. Under this law, the President might have established a depôt for slaves within the limits of our Territories, on the Gulf, or on the Mississippi.

By statute 1820, chapter 22, § 8, Congress established what has been called the Missouri compromise line, thereby expressly legislating on the subject of slavery. So of Texas. *See Jo. Res. March* 1, 1845.

By statute 1819, chapter 93, statute 1821, chapter 39, § 2, and statute 1822, chapter 13, § 9, Congress legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territory of Florida.

Does it not seem almost incredible that a defender and champion of slavery should deny the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories? If Congress has no such power, by what right can a master recapture a fugitive slave escaping into a Territory? The Constitution says: "No person held to service, or labor, in one *State*, escaping into another,"— that is, another *State*,—"shall be discharged from such service, or labor," &c. The act of 1793, chapter 7, § 3, provides that when a person "held to labor," &c., "shall escape into any other of the said States, *or Territory*," he may be taken. By what other law than this can a runaway slave be retaken *in a Territory?* If Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of slavery in any Territory, then, surely, it cannot legislate for the capture of a fugitive slave in a Territory. The argument cuts both ways. The knife wounds him who would use it to wound his fellow.

Further than this. If slavery is claimed to be one of the common subjects of legislation, then any legislation by Congress for the Territories, on any of the common subjects of legislation, is a precedent, going to prove its right to legislate on slavery itself. If Congress may legislate on one subject belonging to a class, then it may legislate on any other subject belonging to the same class. Now, Congress has legislated for the Territories on almost the

on the elective franchise, on the pecuniary qualifications and residence of candidates for office, on the militia, on oaths, on the *per diem* and mileage of members, &c. &c. By statute 1811, chapter 21, § 3, authorizing the Territory of Orleans to form a constitution, it was provided that all legislative proceedings and judicial records should be kept and promulgated in the English language. Cannot Congress make provision for the rights of the people, as well as for the language in which the laws and records defining those rights shall be expressed? Any language is sweet to the ears of man which gives him the right of trial by jury, of habeas corpus, of religious freedom, and of life, limb, and liberty; but accursed is that language, and fit only for the realms below, which deprives an immortal being of the rights of intelligence and of freedom; of the right to himself, and the dearer rights of family.

But all this is by no means the strongest part of the evidence with which our statutes and judicial decisions abound, showing the power of Congress to legislate over Territories. From the beginning, Congress has not only legislated over the Territories, but it has appointed and controlled the agents of legislation.

The general structure of the Legislature in several of the earlier Territorial Governments was this: It consisted of a Governor and of two Houses, an upper and a lower. Without an exception, where a Governor has been appointed, Congress has always reserved his appointment to itself, or to the President. The Governor so appointed has always had a veto power over the two Houses; and Congress has always reserved to itself, or to the President, a veto power, not only over him, but over him and both the Houses besides. Congress has often interfered also with the appointment of the upper House, leaving only the lower House to be chosen exclusively by the people of the Territory; and it has determined even for the lower House the qualifications both of electors and of elected. Further still: The power of removing the Governor, at pleasure, has always been reserved to Congress, or to the President.

Look at this: Congress determines for the Territory the qualifications of electors and elected, — at least in the first instance. No law of the Territorial Legislature is valid until approved by the Governor. Though approved by the Governor, it may be annulled by Congress, or by the President; and the Governor is appointed, and may be removed at pleasure, by Congress or by the President.

To be more specific, I give the following outline of some of the Territorial Governments:

Ohio Territory, statute 1789, *chapter* 8. — A governor for four years, nominated by the President, approved by the Senate, with power to appoint all subordinate civil and military officers.

A Secretary for four years, appointed in the same way.

Three Judges, to hold office during good behavior. Governor and Judges the sole Legislature, until the district shall contain 5,000 free male inhabitants. Then,

A House of Assembly, chosen by qualified electors, for two years.

A Legislative Council of five, to hold office for five years. The House of Assembly to choose ten men, five of whom are to be selected by the President and approved by the Senate. These five to be the "Legislative Council."

A Governor, as before, with an unconditional veto, and a right to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the Assembly.

Power given to the President to revoke the commissions of Governor and Secretary.

Indiana Territory, statute 1800, *chapter* 41. — Similar to that of Ohio. At first the lower House to consist of not more than nine, nor less than seven.

Mississippi Territory, statute 1800, *chapter* 50. — Similar to that of Indiana.

Michigan Territory, statute 1805, *chapter*, 5. — Similar to that of Indiana.

Illinois Territory, statute 1809, *chapter* 13. — Similar to that of Indiana.

Alabama Territory, statute 1817, *chapter* 59. — Similar to that of Indiana.

Wisconsin Territory, statute 1836, *chapter* 54. — Governor for three years, appointed as above, and removable by the President, with power to appoint officers and grant pardons. Unconditional veto.

Secretary for four years, removable by the President. In the absence, or during the inability, of the Governor, to perform his duties.

Legislative Assembly to consist of a Council and a House of Representatives, to be chosen for two years. Congress to have an unconditional veto, to be exercised on laws approved by the Governor.

Louisiana Territory, statute 1803, *chapter* 1. — Sole dictatorial power given to the President of the United States; and the army and navy of the United States placed at his command to govern the territorial inhabitants. — (This was under Mr. Jefferson, a strict constructionist.)

Territory of Orleans, statute 1804, *chapter* 38. — Governor nominated by the President, approved by the Senate, tenure of office three years. Removable by the President. Secretary for four years, to be Governor in case, &c.

Legislative Council of thirteen, to be annually appointed by the President.

Governor and Council, of course, a reciprocal negative on each other. Congress an unconditional veto on both.

District of Louisiana, statute 1804, *chapter* 38. — To be governed by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Indiana.

Congress an unconditional veto on all their laws.

Missouri Territory, statute 1812, *chapter* 95. — A Governor, appointable and removable as above.

Secretary, the same.

A Legislative Council of nine. Eighteen persons to be nominated by the House of Representatives for the Territory; nine of these to be selected and appointed by the President and Senate. A House of Representatives to be chosen by the people.

Arkansas Territory, statute 1819, *chapter* 49. — A Governor and Secretary, appointable and removable, as above.

All legislative power vested in the Governor and in the judges of the superior court.

When a majority of the *freeholders* should elect, then they might adopt the form of government of Missouri.

East and West Florida, statute 1819, *chapter* 93. — *Statute* 1821, *chapter* 29. — *Statute* 1822, *chapter* 13. — From March 3, 1819, to March 30, 1822, the Government vested solely in the President of the United States, and to be exercised by such officers as he should appoint.

After March 30, 1822, a Governor and Secretary appointable and removable as above.

All legislative power vested in the Governor, and in thirteen persons, called a Legislative Council, to be appointed annually by the President.

Yet, sir, notwithstanding all this legislation of Congress for the Territories, on the subject of slavery itself; notwithstanding its legislation on a great class of subjects of which slavery is acknowledged to be one; notwithstanding its appointment in some cases, of the legislative power of the Territory, — making its own agent, the Governor, removable at pleasure, — giving him a veto in the first place, and reserving to itself a veto when he has approved; notwithstanding the exercise, in other cases, of full, absolute sovereignty over the inhabitants of the Territories, and all their interests; and, notwithstanding such has been the practice of the Government for sixty years, under Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and others, it is now denied that Congress has any right to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Sir, with a class of politicians in this country, it has come to this, that slavery is the only sacred thing in existence. It is self-existent, like a god, and human power cannot prevent it. From year to year, it goes on conquering and to conquer, and human power cannot dethrone it.

Sir, I will present another argument on this subject, and I do not see how any jurist or statesman can invalidate it.

Government is one, but its functions are several. They are legislative,

judicial, executive. These functions are coördinate ; each supposes the other two. There must be a legislature to enact laws ; there must be a judiciary to expound the laws enacted, and point out the individuals against whom they are to be enforced ; there must be an executive arm to enforce the decisions of the courts. In every theory of government, where one of these exists, the others exist. Under our Constitution they are divided into three parts, and apportioned among three coördinate bodies. Whoever denies one of these must deny them all.

If the Government of the United States, therefore, has no right to *legislate* for the Territories, it has no right to *adjudicate* for the Territories; if it has no right to *adjudicate*, then it has no right to *enforce* the decisions of the judicial tribunals. These rights must stand or fall together. He who takes from this Government the law-making power, in regard to Territories, strikes also the balances of justice from the hands of the judge, and the mace of authority from those of the executive. There is no escape from this conclusion. The Constitution gives no more authority to adjudge suits in the Territories, or to execute the decisions of the Territorial courts, than it does to legislate. If Congress has no power over territory, only *as land*, then what does this land want of judges and marshals ? Is it not obvious, then, that this new reading of the Constitution sets aside the whole legislative, judicial, and executive administration of this Government over Territories, since the adoption of the Constitution ? It makes the whole of it invalid. The Presidents, all members of Congress, all judges upon the bench, have been in a dream for the last sixty years, and are now waked up and recalled to their senses by the charm of a newly discovered reading of the Constitution.

Hitherto, sir, I have not directed my remarks to the actual legislation by Congress, on the subject of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, so called. That territory was consecrated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787. It has been said that the Confederation had no power to pass such an ordinance. One answer to this is, that the ordinance was a "compact," in terms, and so was adopted and ratified by the sixth article of the Constitution, under the term "engagement."

But whatever may be thought of this answer, there is another one which is conclusive. Congress has ratified the ordinance again and again. The first Congress at its first session passed an act whose preamble is as follows: "Whereas, in order that the ordinance of the United States, in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect," &c. It then proceeds to modify some parts of the ordinance, and to adopt all the rest.*

In the 2d section of the act of 1800, chapter 41, establishing the Indiana Territory, it is expressly provided that its government shall be "in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of 1787."

In the act of 1802, chapter 40, section 5, authorizing Ohio to form a constitution and State government, this ordinance of 1787 is three times referred to as a valid and existing engagement; and it has always been held to be so by the courts of Ohio.

So in the act of 1816, chapter 57, section 4, authorizing the erection of Indiana into a State, the ordinance is again recognized, and is made a part of the fundamental law of the State.

So in the act of 1818, chapter 67, section 4, authorizing Illinois to become a State.

So in the act of 1805, chapter 5, section 2, establishing the Territory of Michigan.

So of Wisconsin. See act of 1847, chapter 53, in connection with the constitution of Wisconsin.

But all this is tedious and superfluous. I have gone into this detail, because I understand the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] to have

* Mr. Madison thought the original ordinance to be clearly invalid. See Federalist, No. 38.

denied this adoption and these recognitions of the ordinance. I hazard nothing in saying that the ordinance of 1787 has been expressly referred to as valid, or expressly or impliedly reënacted, a dozen times, by the Congress of the United States; and, in the State courts of Ohio, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri, it has been adjudged to be constitutional. How, then, is it possible for any mind amenable to legal rules for the decision of legal questions, to say that Congress cannot legislate, or has not legislated, (except once or twice inadvertently,) on the subject of slavery in the Territories?

On this part of the argument, I have only a concluding remark to submit. The position I am contesting affirms generally that Congress cannot legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. The *inexpediency* of so legislating is further advocated, on the ground that it is repugnant to Democratical principles to debar the inhabitants of the Territories from governing themselves. Must the free men of the Territories, it is asked, have laws made for them by others? No! It is anti-democratic, monarchical, intolerable. All men have the right of self-government; and this principle holds true with regard to the inhabitants of Territories, as well as the inhabitants of States.

Now, if these declarations were a sincere and honest affirmation of human rights, I should respect them and honor their authors. Did this doctrine grow out of a jealousy for the rights of man, a fear of usurpation, an assertion of the principle of self-government, I should sympathize with it, while I denied its legality. But, sir, it is the most painful aspect of this whole case, that the very object and purpose of claiming these ample and sovereign rights for the inhabitants of the Territories, is, that they may deny *all* rights to a portion of their fellow-beings within them. Enlarge, aggrandize the rights of the Territorial settlers! And why? Because, by so doing, you enable them to abolish all rights for a whole class of human beings. This claim, then, is not made for the purpose of making freemen more free, but for making slaves more enslaved. The reason for denying to Congress the power to legislate for the Territories, is the fear that Congress will prevent slavery in them. The reason for claiming the supreme right of legislation for the Territorial inhabitants, is the hope that they will establish slavery within their borders. Must not that Democracy be false, which begets slavery as its natural offspring?

If it has now been demonstrated that Congress has uniformly legislated, and can legislate, on the subject of slavery in the Territories, I proceed to consider the next question. *Is it expedient to exclude slavery from them?*

Here, on the threshold, we are confronted with the claim that the gates shall be thrown wide open to the admission of slavery into the broad western world; because, otherwise, the southern or slave States would be debarred from enjoying their share of the common property of the Union.

I meet this claim with a counter-claim. If, on the one hand, the consecration of this soil to freedom will exclude the slaveholders of the South, it is just as true, on the other hand, that the desecration of it to slavery will exclude the freemen of the North. We, at the North, know too well the foundations of worldly prosperity and happiness; we know too well the sources of social and moral welfare, ever voluntarily to blend our fortunes with those of a community where slavery is tolerated. If our demand for free territory, then, excludes them, their demand for slave territory excludes us. Not one in five hundred of the freemen of the North could ever be induced to take his family and domicile himself in a Territory where slavery exists. They know that the institution would impoverish their estate, demoralize their children, and harrow their own consciences with an ever-present sense of guilt, until those consciences, by force of habit and induration, should pass into that callous and more deplorable state, where continuous crime could be committed without the feeling of remorse.

Sir, let me read a passage from Dr. Channing, written in 1798, — fifty years ago, — when, at the early age of nineteen, he lived for some time in

Richmond, Virginia, as a tutor in a private family. While there, he wrote a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"There is one object here which always depresses me. It is *slavery*. This alone would prevent me from ever settling in Virginia. Language cannot express my detestation of it. Master and slave! Nature never made such a distinction, or established such a relation. Man, when forced to substitute the will of another for his own, ceases to be a moral agent; his title to the name of man is extinguished; he becomes a mere machine in the hands of his oppressor. No empire is so valuable as the empire of one's self. No right is so inseparable from humanity, and so necessary to the improvement of our species, as the right of exerting the powers which nature has given us in the pursuit of any and of every good which we can obtain without doing injury to others. Should you desire it, I will give you some idea of the situation and character of the negroes in Virginia. It is a subject so degrading to humanity, that I cannot dwell on it with pleasure. I should be obliged to show you every vice, heightened by every meanness, and added to every misery. The influence of slavery on the whites is almost as fatal as on the blacks themselves."

This was written fifty years ago, by a young man from New England, only nineteen years old. I know that, on all subjects of philanthropy and ethics, Dr. Channing was half a century in advance of his age. But the sentiments he expressed on this subject, at the close of the last century, are now the prevalent, deep-seated feelings of northern men, excepting, perhaps, a few cases, where these feelings have been corrupted by interest.

I repeat, then, that the north cannot shut out the south from the new Territories by a law for excluding slavery, more effectually than the south will shut out the north by the fact of introducing slavery. Even admitting, then, that the *law* is equal for both north and south, I will show that all the *equity* is on the side of the north.

Sir, from the establishment of our independence by the treaty of 1783, to the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and for years afterwards, no trace is to be found of an intention to enlarge the bounds of our Republic; and it is well known that the treaty of 1803, for acquiring Louisiana, was acknowledged by Mr. Jefferson, who made it, to be unconstitutional. In 1787, the Magna Charta of perpetual freedom was secured to the Northwest Territory. But the article excluding slavery from it had an earlier date than 1787. On the first of March, 1784, Congress voted to accept a cession from the State of Virginia of her claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio river. The subject of providing a government for this and other territory was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase of Maryland, and Mr. Howell of Rhode Island. On the 19th of April, 1784, their report was considered. That report contained the following ever-memorable clause:

"That after the year 1800, of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, [they were spoken of as States, because it was always contemplated to erect the Territories into States,] otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty."

Sir, we hear much said in our day of the Wilmot proviso against slavery In former years, great credit has been given to Mr. Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, for originating the sixth article, (against slavery,) in the ordinance of 1787. Sir, it is a misnomer to call this restrictive clause the "Wilmot proviso." It is the *Jefferson proviso*, and Mr. Jefferson should have the honor of it; and would to Heaven that our southern friends, who kneel so devoutly at his shrine, could be animated by that lofty spirit of freedom, that love for the rights of man, which alone can make their acts of devotion sacred.

But what is most material to be observed here, is, that the plan of government reported by Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon by the Congress at that time, embraced all the "western territory." It embraced all the "territory ceded, or *to be ceded*, by individual States to the United States." — *See Journals of Congress, April* 23, 1784. If, then, we leave out Kentucky and Tennessee, as being parts of Virginia and North Carolina, all the residue of the territory north *or south* of the Ohio river, within the treaty limits of the United States, was intended, by the "Jefferson proviso," to be rescued from the doom of slavery. For that proviso there were sixteen votes, and only seven against it. Yet so singularly were these seven votes distributed, and so large a majority of the States did it require to pass an act, that it was lost. The whole of the

representation from seven States voted for it unanimously. Only two States voted unanimously against it. Had but one of Mr. Jefferson's colleagues voted with him, and had Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, voted for it, the restrictive clause in the report would have stood. But a minority of seven from the slaveholding States controlled a majority of sixteen from the free States; — ominous even at that early day of a fate that has now relentlessly pursued us for sixty years.

That vote was certainly no more than a fair representation of the feeling of the country against slavery at that time. It was with such a feeling that the "compromises of the Constitution," as they are called, were entered into. Nobody dreaded or dreamed of the extension of slavery beyond its then existing limits. Yet behold its aggressive march! Besides Kentucky and Tennessee, which I omit, for reasons before intimated, seven new slave States have been added to the Union, — Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, — the last five out of territory not belonging to us at the adoption of the Constitution; while only one free State, Iowa, has been added during all this time, out of such newly-acquired territory.*

But there is another fact, which shows that the slaveholders have already had their full share of territory, however wide the boundaries of this country may hereafter become.

I have seen the number of *actual slaveholders* variously estimated; but the highest estimate I have ever seen is *three hundred thousand.* Allowing six persons to a family, this number would represent a white population of eighteen hundred thousand.

Mr. GAYLE, of Alabama, interrupted and said: If the gentleman from Massachusetts has been informed that the number of slaveholders is only 300,000, then I will tell him his information is utterly false.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman tell me how many there are?

Mr. GAYLE. Ten times as many.

Mr. MANN. Ten times as many! Ten times 300,000 is 3,000,000; and allowing six persons to each family, this would give a population of 18,000,000 directly connected with slaveholding; while the whole free population of the south, in 1840, was considerably less than five millions!

Mr. MEADE, of Virginia, here interposed and said, that where father or mother owned slaves, they were considered the joint property of the family. I think, if you include the grown and the young, there are about three millions interested in slave property.

Mr. MANN resumed. My data lead me to believe that the number does not now exceed two millions; but, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the number directly connected with slaveholding must have been less than one million. Yet this one million have already managed to acquire the broad States of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, beyond the limits of the treaty of 1783; when, at the time the "compromises of the Constitution" were entered into, not one of the parties supposed that we should ever acquire territory beyond those limits. And this has been done for the benefit (if it be a benefit) of that one million of slaveholders, against what is now a free population of fifteen millions. And, in addition to this, it is to be considered that the non-slaveholding population of the slave States have as direct and deep an interest as any part of the country, adverse to the extension

* Here Mr. HILLIARD, of Alabama, rose to ask if the South, by the Missouri compromise, had not surrendered its right to carry slavery north of the compromise line? The question was not understood. If it had been, it would have been replied, that the existence of slavery at New Orleans, and a few other places in Louisiana, at the time of the treaty with France, by no means established the right to carry it to the Pacific Ocean, if the treaty extended so far. Slavery being against natural right, can only exist by virtue of positive law, backed by force sufficient to protect it. It could not lawfully exist, therefore, in any part of Louisiana, which had not been laid out, organized, and subjected to the civil jurisdiction of the Government. Such was not the case with any part of the territory north of the compromise line; and therefore nothing was surrendered. On the other hand, in the formation of the Territorial Governments of Orleans, Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, a vast extent of country was surrendered to slavery. And this is independent of the question, whether Congress, by the Constitution, has any more right to establish slavery *anywhere,* than it has to establish an inquisition, create an order of nobility, or anoint a king.

of slavery. If all our new territory be doomed to slavery, where can the non-slaveholders of the slaveholding States emigrate to? Are they not to be considered? Has one half the population of the slaveholding States rights, which are paramount, not only to the rights of the other half, but to the rights of all the free States besides? for such is the claim. No, sir. I say that, if slavery were no moral or political evil, yet, according to all principles of justice and equity, the slaveholders have already obtained their full share of territory, though all the residue of this continent were to be annexed to the Union, and we were to become, in the insane language of the day, "an ocean-bound Republic."

I now proceed to consider the nature and effects of slavery, as a reason why new-born communities should be exempted from it. First, let me treat of its economical or financial, and secondly, of its moral aspects.

Though slaves are said to be property, they are the preventers, the wasters, the antagonists, of property. So far from facilitating the increase of individual or national wealth, slavery retards both. It blasts worldly prosperity. Other things being equal, a free people will thrive and prosper, in a mere worldly sense, more than a people divided into masters and slaves. Were we so constituted as to care for nothing, to aspire to nothing, beyond mere temporal well-being, this well-being would counsel us to abolish slavery wherever it exists, and to repel its approach wherever it threatens.

Enslave a man, and you destroy his ambition, his enterprise, his capacity. In the constitution of human nature, the desire of bettering one's condition is the main-spring of effort. The first touch of slavery snaps this spring. The slave does not participate in the value of the wealth he creates. All he earns, another seizes. A free man labors, not only to improve his own condition, but to better the condition of his children. The mighty impulse of parental affection repays for diligence, and makes exertion sweet. The slave's heart never beats with this high emotion. However industrious and frugal he may be, he has nothing to bequeath to his children, — or nothing save the sad bonds he himself has worn. Fear may make him work, but hope — never. When he moves his tardy limbs, it is because of the suffering that goads him from behind, and not from the bright prospects that beckon him forward in the race.

What would a slave-owner at the south think, should he come to Massachusetts, and there see a farmer seize upon his hired man, call in a surgeon, and cut off all the flexor muscles of his arms and legs? I do not ask what he would think of his humanity, but what would he think of his sanity? Yet the planter does more than this when he makes a man a slave. He cuts deeper than the muscles; he destroys the spirit that moves the muscles.

In all ages of the world, among all nations, wherever the earnings of the laborer have been stolen away from him, his energies have gone with his earnings. Under the villeinage system of England, the villeins were a low, idle, spiritless race; dead to responsibility; grovelling in their desires; resistant of labor; without enterprise; without foresight. This principle is now exemplified in the landlord and tenant system of Ireland. If a tenant is to be no better off for the improvements he makes on an estate, he will not make the improvements. Look at the seigniories of New York, — the anti-rent districts as they are now called; — every man acquainted with the subject knows that both people and husbandry are half a century behind the condition of contiguous fee-simple proprietorships. All history illustrates the principle, that when property is insecure, it will not be earned. If a despot can seize and confiscate the property of his subject at pleasure, the subject will not acquire property, and thereby give to himself the conspicuousness that invites the plunder. And if this be so when property is merely insecure, what must be the effect when a man has no property whatever in his earnings? Who does not know that a slave, who can rationally hope to purchase his freedom, will do all the work he ever did before, and earn his freedom money besides? Slavery, therefore, though claiming to be a kind of property, is the bane of

property; and the more slaves there are found in the inventory of a nation's wealth, the less in value will the aggregate of that inventory be.

This is *one* of the reasons why slave labor is so much less efficient than free labor. The former can never compete with the latter; and while the greater service is performed with cheerfulness, the smaller is extorted by fear. Just as certain as that the locomotive can outrun the horse, and the lightning outspeed the locomotive, just so certain is it that he who is animated by the hopes and the rewards of freedom will outstrip the disheartened and fear-driven slave.

The intelligent freeman can afford to live well, dress decently, and occupy a comfortable tenement. A scanty subsistence, a squalid garb, a mean and dilapidated hovel, proclaim the degradation of the slave. The slave States gain millions of dollars every year from the privations, the mean food, clothing, and shelter, to which the slaves are subjected; and yet they grow rich less rapidly than States where millions of dollars are annually expended for the comforts and conveniences of the laborer. More is lost in production than is gained by privation.

A universal concomitant of slavery is, that it makes white labor disreputable. Being disreputable, it is shunned. The pecuniary loss resulting from this is incalculable. Dry up the myriad head-springs of the Mississippi, and where would be the mighty volume of waters which now bear navies on their bosom, and lift the ocean itself above its level, by their outpouring flood? Abolish those sources of wealth, which consist in the personal industry of every man, and of each member of every man's family, and that wide-spread thrift, and competence, and elegance, which are both the reward and the stimulus of labor, will be abolished with them. Forego the means, and you forfeit the end. You must use the instrument if you would have the product. Nothing but the feeling of independence, the conscious security of working for one's self and one's family, will, in the present state of the world, make labor profitable.

I know it has been recently said in this Capitol, and by high authority, that, with the exception of menial services, it is not disreputable at the south for a white man to labor. There are two ways, each independent of the other, to disprove this assertion. One of them consists in the testimony of a host of intelligent witnesses acquainted with the condition of things at the south. I might quote page after page from various sources; but, as the assertion comes from a gentleman belonging to South Carolina, I will meet it with the statements of another gentleman belonging to the same State. I refer to Mr. William Gregg, of Charleston, — a gentleman who is extensively acquainted with the social condition of men both north and south.

In that State, according to the last census, there were about 150,000 free whites, *over twelve years of age*. "Of this class," says Mr. Gregg, "fifty thousand are non-producers."* I suppose South Carolina to be as thrifty a slave State as there is, perhaps excepting Georgia; yet here is one third part of the population, old enough to work and able to work, who are idle, and of course vicious, — non-producers, but the worst kind of consumers.

Another answer to the above assertion is, that if white labor were reputable at the south, and white men were industrious, the whole country would be a garden, — a terrestrial paradise, — so far as neatness, abundance, and beauty, are concerned. *Where are the* RESULTS *of this respected and honored white labor?* In a country where few expenses are necessary to ward off the rigors of winter; where the richest staples of the world are produced; where cattle and flocks need but little shelter, and sometimes none; if man superadded his industry to the bounties of nature, want would be wholly unknown; competence would give place to opulence, and the highest decorations of art would mingle with the glowing beauties of nature.

But hear Mr. Gregg:

* Essays on Domestic Industry, or an Inquiry into the expediency of establishing Cotton Manufactories in South Carolina, 1845.

"My recent visit to the northern States has fully satisfied me that the true secret of our difficulties lies in the want of energy on the part of our capitalists, and ignorance and laziness on the part of those who ought to labor. We need never look for thrift while we permit our immense timber forests, granite quarries, and mines to lie idle, and supply ourselves with hewn granite, pine boards, laths, shingles, &c., furnished by the *lazy* dogs of the North; ah! worse than this; we see our back country farmers, many of whom are too lazy to mend a broken gate, or repair the fences to protect their crops from the neighbouring stock, actually supplied with their axe, hoe, and broom handles, pitchforks, rakes, &c., by the *indolent* mountaineers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The time was, when every old woman had her gourd, from which the country gardens were supplied with seed. We now find it more convenient to permit this duty to devolve on our careful friends, the Yankees. Even our boat-oars, and hand-spikes for rolling logs, are furnished, ready made, to our hand," &c. "Need I add, to further exemplify our excessive indolence, that the Charleston market is supplied with fish and wild game by northern men, who come out here as regularly as the winter comes, for this purpose, and from our own waters and forests often realize, in the course of one winter, a sufficiency to purchase a small farm in New England." — *Essays*, page 8.

Again:

"It is only necessary to travel over the sterile mountains of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, to learn the true secret of our difficulties," — "to learn the difference between indolence and industry, extravagance and economy. We there see the scenery, which would take the place of our unpainted mansions, dilapidated cabins, with mud chimneys, and no windows, broken-down rail fences, fields overgrown with weeds, and thrown away half exhausted, to be taken up by pine thickets; beef cattle unprotected from the inclemency of winter, and so poor as barely to preserve life." — *Essays*, page 7.

And again:

"Shall we pass unnoticed the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us, who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation? Many a one is reared in *proud* South Carolina, from birth to manhood, who has never passed a month in which he has not, some part of the time, been stinted for meat. Many a mother is there who will tell you that her children are but scantily supplied with bread, and much more scantily with meat, and if they be clad with comfortable raiment, it is at the expense of these scanty allowances of food. These may be startling statements, but they are nevertheless true; and, if not believed in Charleston, the members of our Legislature, who have traversed the State in electioneering campaigns, can attest their truth." — *Essays*, page 22.

After such statements as these; after the testimony of hundreds and hundreds of eye-witnesses; after the proofs furnished by the aggregates of products, published in our Patent Office Reports, it is drawing a little too heavily on our credulity to say that the white man at the South is industrious. Industry manifests itself by its results, as the sun manifests itself by shining.

But slavery is hostile to the pecuniary advancement of the community in another way. The slave must be kept in ignorance. He must not be educated, lest with education should come a knowledge of his natural rights, and the means of escape or the power of vengeance. To secure the abolition of his freedom, the growth of his mind must be abolished. His education, therefore, is prohibited by statute, under terrible penalties.

Now a man is weak in his muscles; he is strong only in his faculties. In physical strength, how much superior is an ox or a horse to a man; in fleetness, the dromedary or the eagle. It is through mental strength only that man becomes the superior and governor of all animals.

It was not the design of Providence that the work of the world should be performed by muscular strength. God has filled the earth and imbued the elements with energies of greater power than that of all the inhabitants of a thousand planets like ours. Whence come our necessaries and our luxuries?— those comforts and appliances that make the difference between a houseless, wandering tribe of Indians in the far West, and a New England village. They do not come wholly or principally from the original, unassisted strength of the human arm, but from the employment, through intelligence and skill, of those great natural forces, with which the bountiful Creator has filled every part of the material Universe. Caloric, gravitation, expansibility, compressibility, electricity, chemical affinities and repulsions, spontaneous velocities, — these are the mighty agents which the intellect of man harnesses to the car of improvement. The application of water, and wind, and steam, to the propulsion of machinery, and to the transportation of men and merchandise from place to place, has added ten thousand fold to the actual products of human industry. How small the wheel which the stoutest laborer can turn, and how soon will he be weary. Compare this with a wheel driving a thousand spin-

dles or looms, which a stream of water can turn, and never tire. A locomotive will take five hundred men, and bear them on their journey hundreds of miles in a day. Look at these same five hundred men, starting from the same point, and attempting the same distance, with all the pedestrian's or the equestrian's toil and tardiness. The cotton mills of Massachusetts will turn out more cloth in one day than could have been manufactured by all the inhabitants of the Eastern continent during the tenth century. On an element which, in ancient times, was supposed to be exclusively within the control of the gods, and where it was deemed impious for human power to intrude, even there the gigantic forces of nature, which human science and skill have enlisted in their service, confront and overcome the raging of the elements, — breasting tempests and tides, escaping reefs and lee-shores, and careering triumphant around the globe. The velocity of winds, the weight of waters, and the rage of steam, are powers, each one of which is infinitely stronger than all the strength of all the nations and races of mankind, were it all gathered into a single arm. And all these energies are given us on one condition, — the condition of intelligence, — that is, of education.

Had God intended that the work of the world should be done by human bones and sinews, he would have given us an arm as solid and strong as the shaft of a steam-engine; and enabled us to stand, day and night, and turn the crank of a steamship while sailing to Liverpool or Calcutta. Had God designed the human muscles to do the work of the world, then, instead of the ingredients of gun-powder or gun-cotton, and the expansive force of heat, he would have given us hands which could take a granite quarry and break its solid acres into suitable and symmetrical blocks, as easily as we now open an orange. Had he intended us for bearing burdens, he would have given us Atlantean shoulders, by which we could carry the vast freights of rail-car and steamship, as a porter carries his pack. He would have given us lungs by which we could blow fleets before us; and wings to sweep over ocean wastes. But, instead of iron arms, and Atlantean shoulders, and the lungs of Boreas, he has given us a mind, a soul, a capacity of acquiring knowledge, and thus of appropriating all these energies of nature to our own use. Instead of a telescopic and microscopic eye, he has given us power to invent the telescope and the microscope. Instead of ten thousand fingers, he has given us genius inventive of the power-loom and the printing-press. Without a cultivated intellect, man is among the weakest of all the dynamical forces of nature; with a cultivated intellect, he commands them all.

And now, what does the slave-maker do? He abolishes this mighty power of the intellect, and uses only the weak, degraded, and half animated forces of the human limbs. A thousand slaves may stand by a river, and to them it is only an object of fear or of superstition. An educated man surpasses the ancient idea of a river-god; he stands by the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Merrimack, or the Connecticut; he commands each of them to do more work than could be performed by a hundred thousand men, — to saw timber, to make cloth, to grind corn, — and they obey. Ignorant slaves stand upon a coal-mine, and to them it is only a worthless part of the inanimate earth. An educated man uses the same mine to print a million of books. Slaves will seek to obtain the same crop from the same field, year after year, though the *pabulum* of that crop is exhausted; the educated man, with his chemist's eye, sees not only the minutest atoms of earth, but the imponderable gases that permeate it, and he is rewarded with an unbroken succession of luxuriant harvests.

Nor are these advantages confined to those departments of nature where her mightiest forces are brought into requisition. In accomplishing whatever requires delicacy and precision, nature is as much more perfect than man, as she is more powerful in whatever requires strength. Whether in great or in small operations, all the improvements in the mechanical and the useful arts come as directly from intelligence, as a bird comes out of a shell, or the beautiful colors of a flower out of sunshine. The slave-worker is forever prying

at the short end of Nature's lever, and using the back instead of the edge of her finest instruments.

Sir, the most abundant proof exists, derived from all departments of human industry, that uneducated labor is comparatively unprofitable labor. I have before me the statements of a number of the most intelligent gentlemen of Massachusetts, affirming this fact as the result of an experience extending over many years. In Massachusetts we have no native born child wholly without school instruction; but the degrees of attainment, of mental development, are various. Half a dozen years ago, the Massachusetts Board of Education obtained statements from large numbers of our master manufacturers, authenticated from the books of their respective establishments, and covering a series of years, the result of which was, that increased wages were found in connection with increased intelligence, just as certainly as increased heat raises the mercury in the thermometer. Foreigners, and those coming from other States, who made their marks when they receipted their bills, earned the least; those who had a moderate, or limited education, occupied a middle ground on the pay-roll; while the intelligent young women who worked in the mills in winter, and taught schools in summer, crowned the list. The larger capital, in the form of intelligence, yielded the larger interest in the form of wages. This inquiry was not confined to manufactures, but was extended to other departments of business, where the results of labor could be made the subject of exact measurement.

This is universally so. The mechanic sees it, when he compares the work of a stupid with that of an awakened mind. The traveller sees it, when he passes from an educated into an uneducated nation. Sir, there are countries in Europe, lying side by side, where, without compass or chart, without bound or landmark, I could run the line of demarcation between the two, by the broad, legible characters which ignorance has written on roads, fields, houses, and the persons of men, women, and children, on one side, and which knowledge has inscribed on the other.

This difference is most striking in the mechanic arts, but it is clearly visible also in husbandry. Not the most fertile soil, not mines of silver and gold, can make a nation rich, without intelligence. Who ever had a more fertile soil than the Egyptians? Who have handled more silver and gold than the Spaniards? The universal cultivation of the mind and heart is the only true source of opulence; — the cultivation of the mind, by which to lay hold on the treasures of nature; the cultivation of the heart, by which to devote those treasures to beneficent uses. Where this cultivation exists, no matter how barren the soil or ungenial the clime, there comfort and competence will abound; for it is the intellectual and moral condition of the cultivator that impoverishes the soil or makes it teem with abundance. He who disobeys the law of God in regard to the culture of the intellectual and spiritual nature, may live in the valley of the Nile, but he can rear only the "lean kine" of Pharaoh; but he who obeys the highest law may dwell in the cold and inhospitable regions of Scotland or of New England, and "well-formed and fat-fleshed kine" shall feed on all his meadows. If Pharaoh will be a taskmaster, and will not let the bondmen go free, the corn in his field shall be the "seven thin ears blasted by the east wind;" but if he will obey the commandments of the Lord, then behold there shall be "seven ears of corn upon one stalk, all rank and good." Sir, the sweat of a slave poisons the soil upon which it falls; his breath is mildew to every green thing; his tear withers the verdure it drops upon.

But slavery makes the general education of the whites impossible. You cannot have general education without Common Schools. Common Schools cannot exist where the population is sparse. Where slaves till the soil, or do the principal part of whatever work is done, the free population must be sparse. Slavery, then, by an inexorable law, denies general education to the whites. The Providence of God is just and retributive. Create a serf caste, and debar them from education, and you necessarily debar a great portion of the privileged class from education also. It is impossible, in the present state of things,

or in any state of things which can be foreseen, to have free and universal education in a slave state. The difficulty is insurmountable. For a well organized system of Common Schools, there should be two hundred children, at least, living in such proximity to each other that the oldest of them can come together to a central school. It is not enough to gather from within a circle of half a dozen miles' diameter fifty or sixty children for a single school. This brings all ages and all studies into the same room. A good system requires a separation of school children into four, or at least into three, classes, according to ages and attainments. Without this gradation, a school is bereft of more than half its efficiency. Now, this can never be done in an agricultural community where there are two classes of men, — one to do all the work, and the other to seize all the profits. With New England habits of industry, and with that diversified labor which would be sure to spring from intelligence, the State of Virginia, which skirts us here on the south, would support all the population of the New England States, and fill them with abundance.

Mr. BAYLY. We have as great a population as New England now.

Mr. MANN. As great a population as New England!!

Mr. BAYLY. We send fifteen representatives.

[A voice. And how many of them represent slaves?]

Mr. MANN. Massachusetts alone sends ten representatives.

[A voice. And the rest of New England twenty-one more.]

Mr. MANN. I say, sir, the single State of Virginia could support in abundance the whole population of New England. With such a free population, the school children would be so numerous that public schools might be opened within three or four miles of each other all over its territory, — the light of each of which, blending with its neighboring lights, would illumine the whole land. They would be schools, too, in point of cheapness, within every man's means. The degrading idea of pauper schools would be discarded forever. But what is the condition of Virginia now? One quarter part of all its adult free white population are unable to read or write, and were proclaimed to be so by a late Governor, in his annual message, without producing any reform. Their remedy is to choose a Governor who will not proclaim such a fact. When has Virginia, in any State or national election, given a majority equal to the number of its voters unable to read or write? A *Republican* government supported by the two pillars of Slavery and Ignorance!

In South Carolina there is also a fund for the support of pauper schools; but this had become so useless, and was so disdained by its objects, that a late Governor of the State, in his annual message, recommended that it should be withdrawn from them altogether.

Yet in many of the slave States there are beautiful paper systems of Common Schools, — dead laws in the statute-books, — and the census tells us how profitless they have been. In 1840, in the fifteen slave States and Territories, there were only 201,085 scholars at the primary schools. In the same class of schools in the free States, there were 1,626,028, — eight times as many. New York alone had 502,367, or two and a half times as many The scholars in the primary schools of Ohio alone outnumbered all those in the fifteen slave States and Territories by more than 17,000. In the slave States, almost one tenth part of the free white population over twenty years of age are unable to read and write. In the free States, less than one in one hundred and fifty; and at least four fifths of these are foreigners, who ought not to be included in the computation. Many of the slave States, too, have munificent school funds. Kentucky has one of more than a million of dollars; Tennessee of two millions; yet, in 1837, Governor Clarke, of Kentucky, declared, in his message to the Legislature, that "one third of the adult population were unable to write their names;" and in the State of Tennessee, according to the last census, there were 58,531 of the same description of persons. Surely it would take more than five of these to make three freemen; for the more a State has of them the less of intelligent freedom will

schools in the free States, the deficiency in quality will be as great as the deficiency in number.

Sir, during the last ten years I have had a most extensive correspondence with the intelligent friends of education in the slave States. They yearn for progress, but they cannot obtain it. They procure laws to be passed, but there is no one to execute them. They set forth the benefits and the blessings of education; but they speak in a vacuum, and no one hears the appeal. If a parent wishes to educate his children, he must send them from home, and thus suffer a sort of bereavement, even while they live; or he must employ a tutor or governess in his family, which few are able to do. The rich may do it, but what becomes of the children of the poor? In cities the obstacles are less; but the number of persons resident in cities is relatively small. All this is the inevitable consequence of slavery; and it is as impossible for free, thorough, universal education to coëxist with slavery as for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time. Slavery would abolish education, if it should invade a free State; education would abolish slavery, if it *could* invade a slave State.

Destroying common education, slavery destroys the fruits of common education, — the inventive mind, practical talent, the power of adapting means to ends in the business of life. Whence have come all those mechanical and scientific improvements and inventions which have enriched the world with so many comforts, and adorned it with so many beauties; which to-day give enjoyments and luxuries to a common family in a New England village, that neither Queen Elizabeth of England nor any of her proud court ever dreamed of, but a little more than two centuries ago? Among whom have these improvements originated? All history and experience affirm that they have come, and must come, from people among whom education is most generous and unconfined. Increase the *constituency*, if I may so speak, of developed intellect, and you increase in an equal ratio the chances of inventive, creative genius. From what part of our own country has come the application of steam to the propulsion of boats for commercial purposes, or of wheels for manufacturing purposes? Where have the various and almost infinite improvements been made which have resulted in the present perfection of cotton and woollen machinery? Whence came the invention of the cotton-gin, and the great improvements in railroads? Where was born the mighty genius who invented the first lightning-rod, which sends the electric fluid harmless into the earth; or that other genius, not less beneficent, who invented the second lightning-rod, which sends the same fluid from city to city on messages of business or of affection? Sir, these are results which you can no more have without common education, without imbuing the public mind with the elements of knowledge, than you can have corn without planting, or harvests without sunshine.

Look into the Patent Office reports, and see in what sections of country mechanical improvements and the application of science to the useful arts have originated. Out of *five hundred and seventy-two* patents issued in 1847, only *sixty-six* were to the slave States. The patents annually issued, it is true, are a mingled heap of chaff and wheat, but some of it is wheat worthy of Olympus. I think the Patent Office reports show, that at least six or eight times as many patents have been taken out for the North as for the South. What improvements will a slave ever make in agricultural implements; in the manufacture of metals; in preparing wool, cotton, silk, fur, or paper; in chemical processes; in the application of steam; in philosophical, nautical, or optical instruments; in civil engineering, architecture, the construction of roads, canals, wharves, bridges, docks, piers, &c.; in hydraulics or pneumatics; in the application of the mechanical powers; in household furniture, or wearing apparel; in printing, binding, engraving, &c., &c.? This question, when put in reference to slaves, appears ridiculous; and yet it is no more absurd, when asked in reference to an ignorant slave, than when asked in reference to an uneducated white man. The fact that the latter is a voter makes no differ-

All such improvements come from minds which have had an early awakening, and been put on scientific trains of thought in their childhood and youth, — a thing utterly impossible for the people at large, without Common Schools.

These are causes; now look at effects. In the New England States, the iron manufacture is twenty times as much, according to the population, as it is in Virginia; and yet Virginia has far more of the ore than they. In cotton, we can hardly find a fraction low enough to express the difference. The ship-building in Maine and Massachusetts is thirty-five times as much as in Virginia. The North comes to the South, cuts their timber, carries it home, manufactures it, and then brings it back wrought into a hundred different forms, to be sold to those who would see it rot before their eyes.

Can any man give a reason why Norfolk should not have grown like New York, other than the difference in the institutions of the people? Jamestown was settled before Plymouth, and had *natural* advantages superior to it. Plymouth now has a population of between seven and eight thousand, is worth two millions of dollars, and taxed itself last year, for schools and school-houses, more than seven thousand dollars. I ought rather to say, that it invested more than seven thousand dollars in a kind of stock that yields a hundred per cent. income. How many bats there may be in the ruins of Jamestown the last census does not inform us. The books printed at the South I suppose not to be equal to *one fiftieth* part of the number printed at the North. In maps, charts, engravings, and so forth, the elements of comparison exist only on one side.

Out of universal education come genius, skill, and enterprise, and the desire of bettering one's condition. Industry and frugality are their concomitants. Diversified labor secures a home market. Diligence earns much, but the absence of the vices of indolence saves more. Hence comforts abound, while capital accumulates. After the home consumption is supplied, there is a surplus for export. The balance of trade is favorable. All the higher institutions of learning and religion can be liberally supported. These institutions impart an elevated and moral tone to society. Hence efforts for all kinds of social ameliorations. Temperance societies spring up. Societies for preventing crime; for saving from pauperism; for the reform of prisons and the reformation of prisoners; for peace; for sending missionaries to the heathen; for diffusing the Gospel, — all these, where a sound education is given, grow up, in the order of Providence, as an oak grows out of an acorn.

In one thing the South has excelled, — in training statesmen. The primary and the ultimate effects of slavery upon this fact are so well set forth in a late sermon by Dr. Bushnell, of Hartford, Connecticut, that I will read a passage from it:

"And here, since this institution of slavery, entering into the fortunes of our history, complicates in so many ways the disorders we suffer, I must pause a few moments to sketch its characteristics. Slavery, it is not to be denied, is an essentially barbarous institution. It gives us, too, that sign which is the perpetual distinction of barbarism, that it has no law of progress. The highest level it reaches is the level at which it begins. Indeed, we need not scruple to allow that it has yielded us one considerable advantage, in virtue of the fact that it produces its best condition first. For while the northern people were generally delving in labor, for many generations, to create a condition of comfort, slavery set the masters at once on a footing of ease, gave them leisure for elegant intercourse, for unprofessional studies, and seasoned their character thus with that kind of cultivation which distinguishes men of society. A class of statesmen were thus raised up, who were prepared to figure as leaders in scenes of public life, where so much depends on manners and social address. But now the scale is changing. Free labor is rising, at length, into a state of wealth and comfort, to take the lead of American society. Meanwhile, the foster sons of slavery, — the high families, the statesmen, — gradually receding in character, as they must under this vicious institution, are receding also in power and influence, and have been ever since the Revolution. Slavery is a condition against nature; the curse of nature, therefore, is on it, and it bows to its doom by a law as irresistible as gravity. It produces a condition of ease which is not the reward of labor, and a state of degradation which is not the curse of idleness. Therefore, the ease it enjoys cannot but end in a curse, and the degradation it suffers cannot rise into a blessing. It nourishes imperious and violent passions. It makes the masters solitary sheiks on their estates, forbidding thus the possibility of public schools, and preventing also that condensed form of society which is necessary to the vigorous maintenance of churches. Education and religion thus displaced, the dinner-table only remains, and on this hangs, in great part, the keeping of the social state. But however highly we may estimate the humanizing power of hospitality, it cannot be regarded as any sufficient spring of character. It is neither a school nor a gospel. And when it comes of self-indulgence, or only seeks relief for the tedium of an idle life,

mock quality, rather than of a real, having about the same relation to a substantial and finished culture that honor has to character. This kind of currency will pass no longer; for, it is not expense without comfort, or splendor set in disorder, as diamonds in pewter; it is not air in place of elegance, or assurance substituted for ease; neither is it to be master of a fluent speech, or to garnish the same with stale quotations from the classics; much less is it to live in the Don Juan vein, accepting barbarism by poetic inspiration, — the same by which a late noble poet, drawing out of Turks and pirates, became the chosen laureate of slavery, — not any or all of these can make up such a style of man, or of life, as we in this age demand. We have come up now to a point where we look for true intellectual refinement, and a ripe state of personal culture. But how clearly is it seen to be a violation of its own laws, for slavery to produce a genuine scholar, or a man who, in any department of excellence, unless it be in politics, is not a full century behind his time! And if we ask for what is dearer and better still, for a pure Christian morality, the youth of slavery are trained in no such habits as are most congenial to virtue. The point of honor is the only principle many of them know. Violence and dissipation bring down every succeeding generation to a state continually lower; so that now, after a hundred and fifty years are passed, the slaveholding territory may be described as a vast missionary ground, and one so uncomfortable to the faithful ministry of Christ, by reason of its jealous tempers, and the known repugnance it has to many of the first maxims of the Gospel, that scarcely a missionary can be found to enter it. Connected with this moral decay, the resources of nature also are exhausted, and her fertile territories changed to a desert, by the uncreating power of a spendthrift institution. And then, having made a waste where God had made a garden, slavery gathers up the relics of bankruptcy, and the baser relics still of virtue and all manly enterprise, and goes forth to renew, on a virgin soil, its dismal and forlorn history. Thus, at length, has been produced what may be called the bowie-knife style of civilization, and the new west of the South is overrun by it, — a spirit of blood which defies all laws of God and man; — honorable, but not honest; prompt to resent an injury, slack to discharge a debt; educated to ease, and readier, of course, when the means of living fail, to find them at the gambling-table or the race-ground, than in any work of industry, — probably squandering the means of living there, to relieve the tedium of ease itself."

The free schools of the North lead to the common diffusion of knowledge, and the equalization of society. The private schools of the South divide men into patricians and plebeians; so that, in the latter, a nuisance grows out of education itself. In the public schools of New York there are libraries now amounting to more than a million of volumes. In the schools of Massachusetts the number of volumes is relatively less, but the quality is greatly superior. In each of these States, within half an hour's walk of the poorest farm-house or mechanic's shop, there is a library, free and open to every child, containing works of history, biography, travels, ethics, natural science, &c., &c., which will supply him with the noblest capital of intelligence, wherewith to commence the business of making himself a useful and intelligent citizen. With the exception of New Orleans, (whose free schools were commenced and have been presided over by a Massachusetts man,) and three or four other cities, all the libraries in the public schools of the slave States could be carried in a schoolboy's satchel. The libraries of all the universities and colleges of the South contain 223,416 volumes; those of the North 593,897 volumes. The libraries of southern theological schools 22,800; those of northern 102,080.

Look into Silliman's Journal, or the volumes of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and inquire whence the communications came. Where live the historians of the country, Sparks, Prescott, Bancroft; the poets, Whittier, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell; the jurists, Story, Kent, Wheaton; the classic models of writing, Channing, Everett, Irving; the female writers, Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Sigourney, and Mrs. Child? All this proceeds from no superiority of natural endowment on the one side, or inferiority on the other. The Southern States are all within what may be called "the latitudes of genius;" for there is a small belt around the globe, comprising but a few degrees of latitude, which has produced all the distinguished men who have ever lived. I say this difference results from no difference in natural endowment. The mental endowments at the South are equal to those in any part of the world. But it comes because, in one quarter, the common atmosphere is vivified with knowledge, electric with ideas, while slavery gathers in Bœotian fogs over the other. What West Point has been to our armies in Mexico, that, and more than that, good schools would be to the intelligence and industrial prosperity of our country.

It may seem a little out of place, but I cannot forbear here adverting to one point, which, as a lover of children and a parent, touches me more deeply than any other. To whom are intrusted, at the South, the early care and nurture of children? It has been thought by many educators and metaphy-

afterwards. Who, at the South, administers this early knowledge, — these ideas, these views, that have such sovereign efficacy in the formation of adult character? Who has the custody of children during this ductile, forming, receptive period of life, — a period when the mind absorbs whatever is brought into contact with it? Sir, the children of the South, more or less, and generally *more*, are tended and nurtured by slaves. Ignorance, superstition, vulgarity, passion, and perhaps impurity, are the breasts at which they nurse. Whatever other afflictions God may see fit to bring upon me, whatever other mercies He may withhold, may He give me none but persons of intelligence, of refinement, and of moral excellence, to walk with my children during the imitative years of their existence, and to lead them in the paths of knowledge, and breathe into their hearts the breath of a moral and religious life.

Before considering the moral character of slavery, I wish to advert for a moment to the position which we occupy as one of the nations of the earth, in this advancing period of the world's civilization. Nations, like individuals, have a character. The date of the latter is counted by years; that of the former by centuries. No man can have any self-respect who is not solicitous about his posthumous reputation. No man can be a patriot who feels neither joy nor shame at the idea of the honor or the infamy which his age and his country shall leave behind them. Nations, like individuals, have characteristic objects of ambition. Greece coveted the arts; Rome gloried in war; but liberty has been the goddess of our idolatry. Amid the storms of freedom were we cradled; in the struggles of freedom have our joints been knit; on the rich aliment of freedom have we grown to our present stature. With a somewhat too boastful spirit, perhaps, have we challenged the admiration of the world for our devotion to liberty; but an enthusiasm for the rights of man is so holy a passion, that even its excesses are not devoid of the beautiful. We have not only won freedom for ourselves, but we have taught its sacred lessons to others. The shout of "Death to tyrants, and freedom for man!" which pealed through this country seventy years ago, has at length reached across the Atlantic; and whoever has given an attentive ear to the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months, from the European world, cannot have failed to perceive that they were only the far-travelled echoes of the American Declaration of Independence. But in the divine face of our liberty there has been one foul, demoniac feature. Whenever her votaries would approach her to worship, they have been fain to draw a veil over one part of her visage to conceal its hideousness. Whence came this deformity on her otherwise fair and celestial countenance? Sad is the story, but it must be told. Her mother was a vampire. As the daughter lay helpless in her arms, the beldam tore open her living flesh, and feasted upon her life-blood. Hence this unsightly wound, that affrights whoever beholds it. But, sir, I must leave dallying with these ambiguous metaphors. One wants the plain, sinewy, Saxon tongue, to tell of deeds that should have shamed devils. Great Britain was the mother. Her American colonies were the daughter. The mother lusted for gold. To get it, she made partnership with robbery and death. Shackles, chains, and weapons for human butchery, were her outfit in trade. She made Africa her hunting-ground. She made its people her prey, and the unwilling colonies her market-place. She broke into the Ethiop's home, as a wolf into a sheepfold at midnight. She set the continent a-flame, that she might seize the affrighted inhabitants as they ran shrieking from their blazing hamlets. The aged and the infant she left for the vultures; but the strong men and the strong women she drove, scourged and bleeding, to the shore. Packed and stowed like merchandize between unventilated decks, so close that the tempest without could not ruffle the pestilential air within, the voyage was begun. Once a day the hatches were opened, to receive food and to disgorge the dead. Thousands and thousands of corpses, which she plunged into the ocean from the decks of her slave-ships, she counted only as the tare of commerce. The blue monsters of the deep became familiar with her pathway; and, not more remorse-

the foreign shore. And there, monsters of the land, fiercer and feller than any that roam the watery plains, rewarded the robber by purchasing his spoils.

For more than a century did the madness of this traffic rage. During all those years, the clock of eternity never counted out a minute that did not witness the cruel death, by treachery or violence, of some son or daughter, some father or mother, of Africa. The three millions of slaves that now darken our southern horizon are the progeny of these progenitors, — a doomed race, fated and suffering from sire to son. But the enormities of the mother country did not pass without remonstrance. Many of the colonies expostulated against, and rebuked them. The New England colonies, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, presented to the throne the most humble and suppliant petitions, praying for the abolition of the trade. The colonial legislatures passed laws against it. But their petitions were spurned from the throne. Their laws were vetoed by the governors. In informal negotiations, attempted with the ministers of the crown, the friends of the slave were made to understand that royalty turned an adder's ear to their prayers. The profoundest feelings of lamentation and abhorrence were kindled in the bosoms of his western subjects by this flagitious conduct of the king. In that dark catalogue of crimes, which led our fathers to forswear allegiance to the British throne, its refusal to prohibit the slave trade to the colonies is made one of the most prominent of those political offences which are said to "define a tyrant." In the original draught of the Declaration of Independence, as prepared by Mr. Jefferson, this crime of King George the Third is set forth in the following words:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce."

Now, if the king of Great Britian prostituted his negative that slavery might not be restricted, what, in after times, shall be said of those who prostitute their affirmative, that it may be extended? Yet it is now proposed, in some of the state legislatures, and in this capitol, to do precisely the same thing in regard to the Territory of Oregon, which was done by Great Britain to her transatlantic possessions; not merely to legalize slavery there, but to prohibit its inhabitants from prohibiting *it*. Though three thousand miles west of Great Britain, she had certain constitutional rights over us, and could affect our destiny. Though the inhabitants of Oregon are three thousand miles west of us, yet we have certain constitutional rights over them, and can affect their destiny. Great Britain annulled our laws for prohibiting slavery; we propose to annul an existing law of Oregon prohibiting slavery. If the execrations of mankind are yet too feeble and too few to punish Great Britain for her wickedness, what scope, what fulness, what eternity of execration and anathema, will be a sufficient retribution upon us, if we volunteer to copy her example? It was in the eighteenth century, when the mother country thus made merchandise of human beings, — a time when liberty was a forbidden word in the languages of Europe. It is in the nineteenth century, that we propose to reënact, and on an ampler scale, the same execrable villany, — a time when liberty is the rallying cry of all Christendom. So great has been the progress of liberal ideas within the last century, that what was venial at its beginning is unpardonable at its close. To drive coffles of slaves from here to Oregon, in the middle of the nineteenth century, is more infamous than it was to bring cargoes of slaves from Africa here, in the middle of the eighteenth. Yet such is the period that men would select to perpetuate and increase the horrors of this traffic.

Sir, how often, on this floor, have indignant remonstrances been addressed to the North, for agitating the subject of slavery? How often have we at the North been told that we were inciting insurrection, fomenting a servile war, putting the black man's knife to the white man's throat. The air of this hall

women; and, as a defence against the iniquities of the institution, they have universally put in the plea that the calamity was entailed upon them by the mother country, that it made a part of the world they were born into, and therefore they could not help it. I have always been disposed to allow its full weight to this palliation. But if they now insist upon perpetrating against the whole western world, which happens at present to be under our control, the same wrongs which, in darker days, Great Britain perpetrated against them, they will forfeit every claim to sympathy. Sir, here is a test. Let not southern men, who would now force slavery upon new regions, ever deny that their slavery at home is a chosen, voluntary, beloved crime.

But let us look, sir, at the moral character of slavery. It is proposed not merely to continue this institution where it now exists, but to extend it to the Pacific Ocean,— to spread it over the vast slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Sir, the conduct of governments, like the conduct of individuals, is subject to the laws and the retributions of Providence. If, therefore, there is any ingredient of wrong in this institution, we ought not to adopt it, or to permit it, even though it should pour wealth in golden showers over the whole surface of the land. In speaking of the moral character of slavery, sir, I mean to utter no word for the purpose of wounding the feelings of any man. On the other hand, I mean not to wound the cause of truth by abstaining from the utterance of any word which I ought to speak.

The institution of slavery is against natural right. Jurists, from the time of Justinian; orators, from the time of Cicero; poets, from the time of Homer, declare it to be wrong. The writers on moral or ethical science,— the expounders of the law of nations and of God,— denounce slavery as an invasion of the rights of man. They find no warrant for it in the eternal principles of justice and equity; and in that great division which they set forth between right and wrong, they arrange slavery in the catalogue of Crime. All the noblest instincts of human nature rebel against it. Whatever has been taught by sage, or sung by poet, in favor of freedom, is a virtual condemnation of slavery. Whenever we applaud the great champions of liberty, who, by the sacrifice of life in the cause of freedom, have won the homage of the world and an immortality of fame, we record the testimony of our hearts against slavery. Wherever patriotism and philanthropy have glowed brightest; wherever piety and a devout religious sentiment have burned most fervently, there has been the most decided recognition of the universal rights of man.

Sir, let us analyze this subject, and see if slavery be not the most compact, and concentrated, and condensed system of wrong which the depravity of man has ever invented. Slavery is said to have had its origin in war. It is claimed that the captor had a right to take the life of his captive; and that if he spared that life he made it his own, and thus acquired a right to control it. I deny the right of the captor to the life of his captive; and even if this right were conceded, I deny his right to the life of the captive's offspring. But this relation between captor and captive precludes the idea of peace; for no peace can be made where there is no free agency. Peace being precluded, it follows inevitably that the state of war continues. Hence, the state of slavery is a state of war; and though active hostilities may have ceased, they are liable to break out, and may rightfully break out, at any moment. How long must our fellow-citizens, who were enslaved in Algiers, have continued in slavery, before they would have lost the right of escape or of resistance?

The gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Bocock,] in his speech this morning, put the right of the slaveholder upon a somewhat different ground. He said a man might acquire property in a horse before the existence of civil society, by catching a wild one. And so, he added, one man might acquire property in another man, by subduing him to his will. The superior force gave the right, whether to the horse or to the man. Now, if this be so, and if at any time the superior force should change sides, then it follows inevitably that the relation of the parties might be rightfully changed by a new appeal to force.

The same gentleman claims Bible authority for slavery. He says: "I see

this, 'Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall you buy bondmen and bondmaids; and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession,'" &c. Does not the gentleman know, that by the same authority, the Israelitish slaves were commanded to despoil their Egyptian masters, and to escape from bondage? Surely the latter is as good an authority as the former. If the gentleman's argument is sound, he is bound to advocate a repeal of the act of 1793. If the gentleman's argument is sound, the free States, instead of surrendering fugitive slaves to their masters, are bound to give those masters a Red-sea reception and embrace; and the escape of the children of Israel into Canaan is a direct precedent for the underground rail-road to Canada.

Both the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. FRENCH,] yesterday, and the gentleman from Virginia, to-day, spoke repeatedly, and without the slightest discrimination, of a "a slave and a horse," "a slave and a mule," &c. What should we think, sir, of a teacher for our children, or even of a tender of our cattle, who did not recognize the difference between men and mules, — between humanity and horse-flesh? What should we think, if, on opening a work, claiming to be a scientific treatise on zoölogy, we should find the author to be ignorant of the difference between biped and quadruped, or between men and birds, or men and fishes? Yet such errors would be trifling compared with those which have been made through all this debate. They would be simple errors in natural history, perhaps harmless; but these are errors, — fatal errors, — in humanity and Christian ethics. No, sir; all the legislation of the slave States proves that they do not treat, and cannot treat, a human being as an animal. I will show that they are ever trying to degrade him into an animal, although they can never succeed.

This conscious idea that the state of slavery is a state of war, — a state in which superior force keeps inferior force down, — develops and manifests itself perpetually. It exhibits itself in the statute-books of the slave States, prohibiting the education of slaves, making it highly penal to teach them so much as the alphabet; dispersing and punishing all meetings where they come together in quest of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the free States, and you will find law after law, encouragement after encouragement, to secure the diffusion of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the slave States, and you find law after law, penalty after penalty, to secure the extinction of knowledge. Who has not read with delight those books which have been written, both in England and in this country, entitled "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties," giving the biographies of illustrious men, who, by an undaunted and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and blessed the world with their achievements in literature, in science, and in morals? Yet here, in what we call republican America, are fifteen great States, vying with each other to see which will bring the blackest and most impervious pall of ignorance over three millions of human beings; nay, which can do most to stretch this pall across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Is not knowledge a good? Is it not one of the most precious bounties which the all-bountiful Giver has bestowed upon the human race? Sir John Herschel, possessed of ample wealth, his capacious mind stored with the treasures of knowledge, surrounded by the most learned society in the most cultivated metropolis in the world, says: "If I were to pray for a taste which should stand me in stead, under every variety of circumstances, and be a source of happiness and cheerfulness to me through life, and a shield against its ills, however things might go amiss, and the world frown upon me, it would be a taste for reading." Yet it is now proposed to colonize the broad regions of the West with millions of our fellow-beings, who shall never be able to read a book, or write a word; to whom knowledge shall bring no delight in childhood, no relief in the weary hours of sickness or convalescence, no solace in the decrepitude of age; who shall perceive nothing of the beauties of art, who shall know nothing of the wonders of science, who shall never reach any lofty, intel-

hosannas of praise which nature sings to her Maker; blind in this magnificent temple which God has builded.

Sir, it is one of the noblest attributes of man that he can derive knowledge from his predecessors. We possess the accumulated learning of ages. From ten thousand confluent streams, the river of truth, widened and deepened, has come down to us; and it is among our choicest delights, that if we can add to its volume, as it rolls on, it will bear a richer freight of blessings to our successors. But it is here proposed to annul this beneficent law of nature; to repel this proffered bounty of Heaven. It is proposed to create a race of men, to whom all the lights of experience shall be extinguished; whose hundredth generation shall be as ignorant and as barbarous as its first.

Sir, I hold all voluntary ignorance to be a crime; I hold all enforced ignorance to be a greater crime. Knowledge is essential to all rational enjoyment; it is essential to the full and adequate performance of every duty. Whoever intercepts knowledge, therefore, on its passage to a human soul; whoever strikes down the hand that is outstretched to grasp it, is guilty of one of the most heinous of offences. Add to your virtue, knowledge, says the Apostle; but here the command is, be-cloud and be-little by ignorance, whatever virtue you may possess.

Sir, let me justify the earnestness of these expressions, by describing the transition of feeling through which I have lately passed. I come from a community where knowledge ranks next to virtue, in the classification of blessings. On the tenth day of April last, the day before I left home for this place, I attended the dedication of a schoolhouse in Boston, which had cost $70,000. The mayor presided, and much of the intelligence and worth of the city was present on the occasion. I see by a paper which I have this day received, that another schoolhouse, in the same city, was dedicated on Monday of the present week. It was there stated by the mayor, that the cost of the city schoolhouses which had been completed within the last three months, was $200,000. On Tuesday of this week, a new high schoolhouse in the city of Cambridge was dedicated. Mr. Everett, the President of Harvard College, was present, and addressed the assembly in a long, and, I need not add, a most beautiful speech. That schoolhouse, with two others to be dedicated within a week, will have cost $25,000. Last week, in the neighboring city of Charlestown, a new high schoolhouse, of a most splendid and costly character, was dedicated by the mayor and city government, by clergy and laity. But it is not mayors of cities, and presidents of colleges alone, that engage in the work of consecrating temples of education to the service of the young. Since I have been here, the Governor of the Commonwealth, Mr. Briggs, went to Newburyport, a distance of forty miles, to attend the dedication of a schoolhouse, which cost $25,000. On a late occasion, when the same excellent chief magistrate travelled forty miles to attend the dedication of a schoolhouse in the country, some speaker congratulated the audience because the governor of the commonwealth had come down from the executive chair to honor the occasion. "No," said he, "I have come up to the occasion to be honored by it." Within the last year, $200,000 have been given by individuals to Harvard College. Within a little longer time than this, the other two colleges in the State have received, together, a still larger endowment, from individuals or the State.

These measures are part of a great system which we are carrying on for the elevation of the race. Last year, the voters of Massachusetts, in their respective towns, voluntarily taxed themselves about a million of dollars for the support of Common Schools. We have an old law on the statute-book, requiring towns to tax themselves for the support of public schools; but the people have long since lost sight of this law in the munificence of their contributions. Massachusetts is now erecting a reform school for vagrant and exposed children, — so many of whom come to us from abroad, — which will cost the State more than a hundred thousand dollars. An unknown individual has given twenty thousand dollars towards it. We educate all our deaf and dumb and blind. An appropriation was made by the last Legislature to establish a school for idiots, in imitation of those beautiful institutions in Paris, in Switzerland,

and in Berlin, where the most revolting and malicious of this deplorable class are tamed into docility, made lovers of order and neatness, and capable of performing many valuable services. The future teacher of this school is now abroad, preparing himself for his work. A few years ago, Mr. Everett, the present President of Harvard College, then Governor of the Commonwealth, spoke the deep *convictions* of Massachusetts people, when, in a public address on Education, he exhorted the fathers and mothers of Massachusetts in the following words: "Save," said he, "save, spare, scrape, stint, starve, do anything but steal," to educate your children. And Doctor Howe, the noble-hearted director of the Institution for the Blind, lately uttered the deepest *sentiments* of our citizens, when, in speaking of our duties to the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the idiotic, he said: "The sight of any human being left to brutish ignorance is always demoralizing to the beholders. There floats not upon the stream of life a wreck of humanity so utterly shattered and crippled, but that its signals of distress should challenge attention and command assistance."

Sir, it was all glowing and fervid with sentiments like these, that, a few weeks ago, I entered this House, — sentiments transfused into my soul from without, even if I had no vital spark of nobleness to kindle them within. Imagine, then, my strong revulsion of feeling, when the first set, elaborate speech which I heard, was that of the gentleman from Virginia, proposing to extend ignorance to the uttermost bounds of this Republic, — to legalize it, to enforce it, to necessitate it, and make it eternal. Since him, many others have advocated the same abhorrent doctrine. Not satisfied with dooming a whole race of our fellow-beings to mental darkness, impervious and everlasting, — not satisfied with drawing this black curtain of ignorance between man and nature, between the human soul and its God, from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande, across half the continent, — they desire to increase this race ten, twenty millions more, and to unfold and spread out this black curtain across the other half of the continent. When, sir, in the halls of legislation, men advocate measures like this, it is no figure of speech to say, that their words are the clankings of multitudinous fetters; each gesture of their arms tears human flesh with ten thousand whips; each exhalation of their breath spreads clouds of moral darkness from horizon to horizon.

Twenty years ago, a sharp sensation ran through the nerves of the civilized world, at the story of a young man named Caspar Hauser, found in the city of Nuremberg, in Bavaria. Though sixteen or seventeen years of age, he could not walk nor talk. He heard without understanding; he saw without perceiving; he moved without definite purpose. It was the soul of an infant in the body of an adult. After he had learned to speak, he related that, from his earliest recollection, he had always been kept in a hole so small, that he could not stretch out his limbs, where he saw no light, heard no sound, nor even witnessed the face of the attendant who brought him his scanty food. For many years conjecture was rife concerning his history, and all Germany was searched to discover his origin. After a long period of fruitless inquiry and speculation, public opinion settled down into the belief that he was the victim of some great unnatural crime; that he was the heir to some throne, and had been sequestered by ambition; or the inheritor of vast wealth, and had been hidden away by cupidity; or the offspring of criminal indulgence, and had been buried alive to avoid exposure and shame. A German, Von Feuerbach, published an account of Caspar, entitled "The Example of a Crime on the Life of the Soul." But why go to Europe to be thrilled with the pathos of a human being shrouded from the light of nature, and cut off from a knowledge of duty and of God? To-day, in this boasted land of light and liberty, there are three million Caspar Hausers; and, as if this were not enough, it is proposed to multiply their number tenfold, and to fill up all the western world with these proofs of human avarice and guilt. It is proposed that we ourselves should create, and should publish to the world, not one, but untold millions of "Examples of *a Crime on the Life of the Soul*." It is proposed that the self-styled freemen, the self-styled Christians, of fifteen great states in this American Union, shall engage in the work of procreating, rearing, and *selling*

Caspar Hausers, often from their own loins; and if any further development of soul or of body is allowed to the American victims than was permitted to the Bavarian child, it is only because such development will increase their market value at the barracoons. It is not from any difference of motive, but only the better to insure that motive's indulgence. The slave child must be allowed to use his limbs, or how could he drudge out his life in the service of his master? The slave infant must be taught to walk, or how, *under the shadow of this thrice glorious Capitol*, could he join a coffle for New Orleans?

I know, sir, that it has been said, within a short time past, that Caspar Hauser was an impostor, and his story a fiction. Would to God that this could ever be said of his fellow-victims in America!

For another reason slavery is an unspeakable wrong. The slave is debarred from testifying against a white man. The courts will not hear him as a witness. By the principles of the common law, if any man suffers violence at the hands of another, he can prefer his complaint to magistrates, or to the grand juries of the courts, who are bound to give him redress. Hence the law is said to hold up its shield before every man for his protection. It surrounds him in the crowded street and in the solitary place. It guards his treasures with greater vigilance than locks or iron safes; and against meditated aggressions upon himself, his wife or his children, it fastens his doors every night, more securely than triple bolts of brass. But all these sacred protections are denied to the slave. While subjected to the law of force, he is shut out from the law of right. To suffer injury is his, but never to obtain redress. For personal cruelties, for stripes that shiver his flesh, and blows that break his bones, for robbery or for murder, neither he nor his friends can have preventive, remedy or recompense. The father, who is a slave, may see son or daughter scored, mangled, mutilated or ravished before his eyes, and he must be dumb as a sheep before its shearers. The wife may be dishonored in the presence of the husband, and, if he remonstrates or rebels, the miscreant who could burn with the lust, will burn not less fiercely with a vengeance to be glutted upon his foiler.

Suppose, suddenly, by some disastrous change in the order of nature, an entire kingdom or community were to be enveloped in total darkness, — to have no day, no dawn, but midnight evermore! Into what infinite forms of violence and wrong would the depraved passions of the human heart spring up, when no longer restrained by the light of day, and the dangers of exposure! So far as legal rights against his oppressors are concerned, the slave lives in such a world of darkness. A hundred of his fellows may stand around him and witness the wrongs he suffers, but not one of them can appeal to jury, magistrate, or judge, for punishment or redress. The wickedest white man, in a company of slaves, bears a charmed life. There is not one of the fell passions that rages in his bosom which he cannot indulge with wantonness, and to satiety, and the court has no ears to hear the complaint of the victim. How dearly does every honorable man prize character! The law denies the slave a character: for, however traduced, legal vindication is impossible.

And yet, infinitely flagrant as the anomaly is, the slave is amenable to the laws of the land for all offences which he may commit against others, though he is powerless to protect himself by the same law from offences which others may commit against him. He may suffer all wrong, and the courts will not hearken to his testimony; but for the first wrong he does, the same courts inflict their severest punishments upon him. This is the reciprocity of slave law, — to be forever liable to be proved guilty, but never able to prove himself innocent; to be subject to all punishments, but through his own oath, to no protection. Hear what is said by the highest judicial tribunal of South Carolina: "Although slaves are held to be the absolute property of their owners, yet they have the power of committing crimes." — *2d Nott and McCord's Rep., p. 179.* A negro is so far amenable to the common law, that

1*st Bay's Rep.*, 358. By the laws of the same State, a negro may be himself stolen and he has no redress; but if he steals a negro from another, he shall be hung. — 2*d Nott and McCord's Rep.*, 179. [*An example of this penalty suffered by a slave.*] This is the way that slave legislatures and slave judicatories construe the command of Christ, " Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also the same unto them." Nay, by the laws of some of the slave States, where master and slave are engaged in a joint act, the slave is indictable, while the master is not.

What rights are more sacred or more dear to us than the conjugal and the parental? No savage nation, however far removed from the frontiers of civilization, has ever yet been discovered, where these rights were unknown or unhonored. The beasts of the forest feel and respect them. It is only in the land of slaves that they are blotted out and annihilated.

Slavery is an unspeakable wrong to the conscience. The word " conscience " conveys a complex idea. It includes conscientiousness; that is, the sentiment or instinct of right and wrong; and also intelligence, which is the guide of this sentiment. *Conscience*, then, implies both the desire or impulse to do right, and also a knowledge of what is right. Nature endows us with the sentiment, but the knowledge we must acquire. Hence we speak of an " enlightened conscience," meaning thereby not only the moral sense, but that knowledge of circumstances, relations, tendencies and results, which is necessary in order to guide the moral sense to just conclusions. Each of these elements is equally necessary to enable a man to feel right and to act right. Mere knowledge, without the moral sense, can take no cognizance of the everlasting distinctions between right and wrong, and so the blind instinct, unguided by knowledge, will be forever at fault in its conclusions. The two were made to coëxist and operate together, by Him who made the human soul. But the impious hand of man divorces these twin-capacities, wherever it denies knowledge. If one of these coördinate powers in the mental realm be annulled by the Legislature, it may be called law; but it is repugnant to every law and attribute of God.

But, not satisfied with having invaded the human soul, and annihilated one of its most sacred attributes, in the persons of three millions of our fellow-men; not satisfied with having killed the conscience, as far as it can be killed by human device, and human force, in an entire race; we are now invoked to multiply that race, to extend it over regions yet unscathed by its existence, and there to call into being other millions of men, upon whose souls, and upon the souls of whose posterity, the same unholy spoliation shall be committed forever.

Slavery is an unspeakable wrong to the religious nature of man. The dearest and most precious of all human rights is the right of private judgment in matters of religion. I am interested in nothing else so much as in the attributes of my Creator, and in the relations which he has established between me and Himself, for time and for eternity. To investigate for myself these relations, and their momentous consequences; to " search the Scriptures;" to explore the works of God in the outward and visible universe; to ask counsel of the sages and divines of the ages gone by, — these are rights which it would be sacrilege in me to surrender; which it is worse sacrilege in any human being or human government to usurp. Yet, by denying education to the slave, you destroy not merely the *right* but the *power* of personal examination in regard to all that most nearly concerns the soul's interests. Who so base as not to reverence the mighty champions of religious freedom, in days when the dungeon, the rack, and the fagot, were the arguments of a government theology? Who does not reverence, I say, Wickliffe, Huss, Luther, and the whole army of martyrs whose blood reddened the axe of English intolerance? Yet it was only for this right of private judgment; for this independence of another man's control, in religious concernments, that the godlike champions of religious liberty perilled themselves and perished. Yet it is this very religious despotism over millions of men, which it is now proposed, not to

away, but to forge new ones and rivet them on. Sir, on the continent of Europe, and in the Tower of London, I have seen the axes, the chains, and other horrid implements of death, by which the great defenders of freedom for the soul were brought to their final doom, — by which political and religious liberty was cloven down; but fairer and lovelier to the view were axe and chain, and all the ghastly implements of death ever invented by religious bigotry or civil despotism to wring and torture freedom out of the soul of man; — fairer and lovelier were they all than the parchment roll of this House on which shall be inscribed a law for profaning one additional foot of American soil with the curse of slavery. [Here the chairman's hammer announced the close of the hour. Mr. MANN had but one topic more which he designed to elucidate, — the inevitable tendency of slavery to debase the standard both of private and of public morals in any community where it exists.]

After the above speech was delivered, I was referred to a Tract, written by a Virginian, on the subject of slavery; and, by the politeness of its author, I have since obtained a copy of it. It is entitled, "*Address to the People of West Virginia; showing that slavery is injurious to the public welfare, and that it may be gradually abolished, without detriment to the rights and interests of slaveholders.* BY A SLAVEHOLDER OF WEST VIRGINIA. *Lexington:* R. C. Noel. 1847." This Address was written by the Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., President of Lexington College, Lexington, Va. Some of the passages of this Address are so striking; it is throughout so corroborative of one of the arguments contained in the Speech; and, coming as it does, from a Virginian, an eye-witness of the effects of slavery, and a holder of slaves, that I have thought it would be useful to append them to this *revised* and *corrected* edition of the Speech. The extracts, of course, are not, as here, consecutive.

H. M.

West Newton, Sept. 1, 1848.

"Nowhere, since time began, have the two systems of slave labor and free labor been subjected to so fair and so decisive a trial of their effects on public prosperity, as in these United States. Here the two systems have worked side by side for ages, under such equal circumstances, both political and physical, and with such ample time and opportunity for each to work out its proper effects, that all must admit the experiment to be now complete, and the result decisive. No man of common sense, who has observed this result, can doubt for a moment, that the system of free labor promotes the growth and prosperity of States in a much higher degree than the system of slave labor. In the first settlement of a country, when labor is scarce and dear, slavery may give a temporary impulse to improvement; but even this is not the case, except in warm climates, and where free men are scarce and either sickly or lazy; and when we have said this, we have said all that experience in the United States warrants us to say, in favor of the policy of employing slave labor.

It is the common remark of all who have travelled through the United States, that the free States and the slave States exhibit a striking contrast in their appearance. In the older free States are seen all the tokens of prosperity; — a dense and increasing population; thriving villages, towns and cities; a neat and productive agriculture, growing manufactures, and active commerce.

In the older parts of the slave States, — with a few local exceptions, — are seen, on the contrary, too evident signs of stagnation, or of positive decay; — a sparse population, a slovenly cultivation spread over vast fields that are wearing out, among others already worn out and desolate; villages and towns, "few and far between," rarely growing, often decaying, sometimes mere remnants of what they were, sometimes deserted ruins, haunted only by owls; generally no manufactures, nor even trades, except the indispensable few; commerce and navigation abandoned, as far as possible, to the people of the free States; and generally, instead of the stir and bustle of industry, a dull and dreamy stillness, broken, if broken at all, only by the wordy brawl of politics.

New England and the middle States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, contained in 1790, 1,968,000 inhabitants, and in 1840, 6,760,000; having gained, in this period, 243 per cent.

The four old slave States had in 1790 a population of 1,473,000, and in 1840, of 3,279,000; having gained, in the same period, 122 per cent., just about half as much, in proportion, as the free States. They ought to have gained about twice as much; for they had at first only seven inhabitants to the square mile, when the free States not only had upwards of twelve, but, on the whole, much inferior advantages of soil and climate. Even cold, barren New England, though more than twice as thickly peopled, grew in population at a faster rate than these old slave States.

About half the territory of these old slave States is new country, and has comparatively few slaves. On this part the increase of population has chiefly taken place. On the old slave-labored lowlands, a singular phenomenon has appeared; there, within the bounds of these rapidly grow-

ing United States, — yes, there, population has been long at a stand; yes, over wide regions, — especially in Virginia, — it has declined, and a new wilderness is gaining upon the cultivated land! What has done this work of desolation? Not war, nor pestilence; not oppression of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical; but *slavery*, a curse more destructive in its effects than any of them. It were hard to find, in old king-ridden, priest-ridden, overtaxed Europe, so large a country, where, within twenty years past, such a growing poverty and desolation have appeared.

It is in the last period of ten years, from 1830 to 1840, that this consuming plague of slavery has shown its worst effects in the old Southern States. Including the increase in their newly settled and Western counties, they gained in population only 7 1-2 per cent.; while cold, barren, thickly peopled New England gained 15, and the old middle States, 26 per cent. East Virginia actually fell off 26,000 in population; and, with the exception of Richmond and one or two other towns, her population continues to decline. Old Virginia was the first to sow this land of ours with slavery; she is also the first to reap the full harvest of destruction. Her lowland neighbors of Maryland and the Carolinas were not far behind at the *seeding;* nor are they far behind at the ingathering of desolation.

Let us take the rich and beautiful State of Kentucky, compared with her free neighbor Ohio. The slaves of Kentucky have composed less than a fourth part of her population. But mark their effect upon the comparative growth of the State. In the year 1800, Kentucky contained 221,000 inhabitants, and Ohio, 45,000. In forty years, the population of Kentucky had risen to 780,000; that of Ohio to 1,519,000. This wonderful difference could not be owing to any natural superiority of the Ohio country. Kentucky is nearly as large, nearly as fertile, and quite equal in other gifts of nature. She had greatly the advantage too in the outset of this forty years' race of population. She started with 5 1-2 inhabitants to the square mile, and came out with 20: Ohio started with one inhabitant to the square mile, and came out with 38. Kentucky had full possession of her territory at the beginning. Much of Ohio was then, and for a long time afterwards, in possession of the Indians. Ohio is by this time considerably more than twice as thickly peopled as Kentucky; yet she still gains, both by natural increase and by the influx of emigrants; while Kentucky has for twenty years been receiving much fewer emigrants than Ohio, and multitudes of her citizens have been yearly moving off to newer and yet newer countries.

Compare this natural increase with the census returns, and it appears that in the ten years from 1830 to 1840, Virginia lost by emigration no fewer than 375,000 of her people, of whom East Virginia lost 304,000 and West Virginia 71,000. At this rate Virginia supplies the West every ten years with a population equal in number to the population of the State of Mississippi in 1840!

Some Virginia politicians proudly, — yes, *proudly*, fellow-citizens, — call our old Commonwealth, *The Mother of States!* These *enlightened* patriots might pay her a still higher compliment, by calling her *The Grandmother* of States. For our part, we are grieved and mortified, to think of the lean and haggard condition of our venerable mother. Her black children have sucked her so dry, that now, for a long time past, she has not milk enough for her offspring, either black or white.

She has sent, — or we should rather say, she has driven, — from her soil, at least one third of all the emigrants who have gone from the old States to the new. More than another third have gone from the other old slave States. Many of these multitudes, who have left the slave States, have shunned the regions of slavery, and settled in the free countries of the West. These were generally industrious and enterprising white men, who found, by sad experience, that a country of slaves was not the country for them. It is a truth, a certain truth, that *slavery drives free laborers, — farmers, mechanics, and all, and some of the best of them too, — out of the country, and fills their places with negroes.*

It is admitted on all hands, that slave labor is better adapted to agriculture than to any other branch of industry; and that, if not good for agriculture, it is really good for nothing.

Therefore, since in agriculture slave labor is proved to be far less productive than free labor, *slavery is demonstrated to be not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to the public prosperity.*

We do not mean that slave labor can never earn anything for him that employs it. The question is between free labor and slave labor. He that chooses to employ a sort of labor that yields only half as much to the hand as another sort would yield, makes a choice that is not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to his interest.

Agriculture in the slave States may be characterized in general by two epithets, *extensive, exhaustive,* — which in all agricultural countries forebode two things, *impoverishment, depopulation.* The general system of slaveholding farmers and planters, in all times and places, has been, and now is, and ever will be, to cultivate much land, badly, for present gain, — in short, to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. They cannot do otherwise with laborers who work by compulsion, for the benefit only of their masters; and whose sole interest in the matter is, to do as little and to consume as much as possible.

This ruinous system of large farms cultivated by slaves showed its effects in Italy, 1800 years ago, when the Roman empire was at the height of its grandeur.

Pliny, a writer of that age, in his Natural History, (Book 18, ch. 1—7,) tells us, that while the small farms of former times were cultivated by freemen, and even great commanders did not disdain to labor with their own hands, agriculture flourished, and provisions were abundant; but that afterwards, when the lands were engrossed by a few great proprietors, and cultivated by fettered and branded slaves, the country was ruined, and corn had to be imported. The same system was spreading ruin over the provinces, and thus the prosperity of the empire was undermined. Pliny denounces as the worst of all, the system of having large estates in the country cultivated by slaves, or indeed, says he, "*to have anything done by men who labor without hope of reward.*"

So Livy, the great Roman historian, observed, some years before Pliny, (Book 6, ch. 12,) that "innumerable multitudes of men formerly inhabited those parts of Italy, where, in his time, none but slaves redeemed the country from desertion;" — that is, a dense population of free laborers had been succeeded by a sparse population of slaves.

Even the common mechanical trades do not flourish in a slave State. Some mechanical operations must, indeed, be performed in every civilized country; but the general rule in the South is, to import from abroad every fabricated thing that can be carried in ships, such as household furniture, boats, boards, laths, carts, ploughs, axes, and axehelves, besides innumerable other things, which free communities are accustomed to make for themselves. What is most wonderful is, that the forests and iron-mines of the South supply, in great part, the materials out of which these

things are made. The Northern freemen come with their ships, carry home the timber and pig-iron, work them up, supply their own wants with a part, and then sell the rest at a good profit in the Southern markets. Now, although mechanics, by setting up their shops in the South, could save all these freights and profits ; yet so it is, that Northern mechanics will not settle in the South. and the Southern mechanics are undersold by their Northern competitors.

Now connect with these wonderful facts another fact, and the mystery is solved. The number of mechanics, in different parts of the South, is in the inverse ratio of the number of slaves ; or in other words, where the slaves form the largest proportion of the inhabitants, there the mechanics and manufacturers form the least. In those parts only where the slaves are comparatively few, are many mechanics and artificers to be found ; but even in these parts they do not flourish as the same useful class of men flourish in the free States. Even in our Valley of Virginia, remote from the sea, many of our mechanics can hardly stand against Northern competition. This can be attributed only to slavery, which paralyzes our energies, disperses our population, and keeps us few and poor, in spite of the bountiful gifts of nature, with which a benign Providence has endowed our country.

Of all the States in this Union, not one has on the whole such various and abundant resources for manufacturing, as our own Virginia, both East and West. Only think of her vast forests of timber, her mountains of iron, her regions of stone coal, her valleys of limestone and marble, her fountains of salt, her immense sheep-walks for wool, her vicinity to the cotton fields, her innumerable waterfalls, her bays, harbors and rivers for circulating products on every side ; — in short, every material and every convenience necessary for manufacturing industry.

Above all, think of Richmond, nature's chosen site for the greatest manufacturing city in America — her beds of coal and iron, just at hand — her incomparable water-power — her tide water navigation, conducting sea vessels from the foot of her falls, — and above them her fine canal to the mountains, through which lie the shortest routes from the Eastern tides to the great rivers of the West and the South-west. Think also that this Richmond, in old Virginia, "the mother of States," has enjoyed these unparalleled advantages ever since the United States became a nation ; — and then think again, that this same Richmond, the metropolis of all Virginia, has fewer manufactures than a third rate New England town ; — fewer — not than the new city of Lowell, which is beyond all comparison, — but fewer than the obscure place called Fall River, among the barren hills of Massachusetts ; — and then, fellow-citizens, what will you think, — what *must* you think, — of the cause of this strange phenomenon ? Or, to enlarge the scope of the question : What must you think has caused Virginians in general to neglect their superlative advantages for manufacturing industry ? — to disregard the evident suggestions of nature, pointing out to them this fruitful source of population, wealth and comfort ?

Say not that this state of things is chargeable to the *apathy* of Virginians. That is nothing to the purpose, for it does not go to the bottom of the subject. What causes the apathy ? That is the question.

The last census gave also the cost of constructing new buildings in each State, exclusive of the value of the materials. The amount of this is a good test of the increase of wealth in a country. To compare different States in this particular, we must divide the total cost of building by the number of inhabitants, and see what the average will be for each inhabitant. We find that it is in Massachusetts, $3 60 cents ; in Connecticut, $3 50 cents ; in New York, $3 00 ; in New Jersey, $2 70 cents ; in Pennsylvania, $3 10 cents ; in Maryland, $2 30 cents ; and in Virginia, $1 10 cents.

No State has greater conveniencies for ship navigation and ship building than Virginia. Yet on all her fine tide waters, she has little shipping ; and what she has is composed almost wholly of small bay craft and a few coasting schooners.

We do not blame our Southern people for abstaining from all employments of this kind. What could they do ? Set their negroes to building ships ? Who ever imagined such an absurdity ? But could they not hire white men to do such things ? No ; for in the first place, Southern white men have no skill in such matters ; and in the second place, Northern workmen cannot be hired in the South, without receiving a heavy premium for working in a slave State.

The boast of our West Virginia is the good city of Wheeling. Would that she was six times as large, that she might equal Pittsburg, and that she grew five times as fast, that she might keep up with her !

We glory in Wheeling, because she only, in Virginia, deserves to be called a manufacturing town. For this her citizens deserve to be crowned, — not with laurel, — but with the solid gold of prosperity. But how came it, that Wheeling, and next to her, Wellsburg, — of all the towns in Virginia, — should become manufacturing towns ? Answer : They breathe the atmosphere of free States, almost touching them on both sides. But again ; seeing that Wheeling, as a seat for manufactures, is equal to Pittsburg, and inferior to no town in America, except Richmond ; and that, moreover, she has almost no slaves ; why is Wheeling so far behind Pittsburg, and comparatively so slow in her growth ? — Answer : She is in a country in which slavery is established by law.

We shall explain, by examples, how a few slaves in a country may do its citizens more immediate injury than a large number.

When a white family own fifty or one hundred slaves, they can, so long as their land produces well, afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits ; for though each yields only a small profit, yet each member of the family has ten or fifteen of these black work-animals to toil for his support. It is not until the fields grow old, and the crops grow short, and the negroes and the overseer take nearly all, that the day of ruin can be no longer postponed. If the family be not *very* indolent and *very* expensive, this inevitable day may not come before the third generation. But the ruin of small slaveholders is often accomplished in a single life-time.

When a white family own five or ten slaves, they cannot afford to be indolent and expensive in their habits ; for one black drudge cannot support one white gentleman or lady. Yet, because they are slaveholders, this family will feel some aspirations for a life of easy gentility ; and because field work and kitchen work are negroes' work, the young gentlemen will dislike to go with the negroes to dirty field work, and the young ladies will dislike to join the black sluts in any sort of household labor. Such unthrifty sentiments are the natural consequence of introducing slaves among the families of a country ; especially negro slaves. They infallibly grow and spread, creating among the white families a distaste for all servile labor, and a desire to procure slaves who

may take all drudgery off their hands. Thus general industry gives way by degrees to indolent relaxation, false notions of dignity and refinement, and a taste for fashionable luxuries. Then debts slyly accumulate. The result is, that many families are compelled by their embarrassments to sell off and leave the country. Many who are unable to buy slaves leave it also, because they feel degraded, and cannot prosper, where slavery exists. Citizens of the Valley! Is it not so? Is not this the chief reason why your beautiful country does not prosper like the Northern Valleys?

We have examined the census of counties for the last thirty or forty years, in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, with the view to discover the law of population in the Northern slave States. The following are among the general results.

When a county had at first comparatively few slaves, the slave population, except near the free borders, gained upon the whites, and most rapidly in the older parts of the country.

The population, as a whole, increased so long as the slaves were fewer than the whites, but more slowly as the numbers approached to equality. In our Valley, a smaller proportion of slaves had the effect of a larger one in East Virginia, to retard the increase of population.

When the slaves became as numerous as the whites in the Eastern and older parts of the country, population came to a stand; when they outnumbered the whites, it declined. Consequently, the slave population has tended to diffuse itself equally over the country, rising more rapidly as it was further below the white population, and going down when it had risen above them.

The price of cotton has regulated the price of negroes in Virginia; and so it must continue to do; because slave labor is unprofitable here, and nothing keeps up the price of slaves but their value as a marketable commodity in the South. Eastern negroes and Western cattle are alike in this, that, if the market abroad go down or be closed, — both sorts of animals, the horned and the woolly-headed, become a worthless drug at home. The fact is, that our Eastern brethren must send off, on any terms, the increase of their slaves, because their impoverished country cannot sustain even its present stock of negroes. We join not the English and American abolition cry about "slave-breeding," in East Virginia, as if it were a chosen occupation, and therefore a reproachful one. It is no such thing, but a case of dire necessity, and many a heartache does it cost the good people there. But, behold in the East the doleful consequences of letting slavery grow up to an oppressive and heart-sickening burden upon a community! Cast it off, West Virginians, whilst yet you have the power; for if you let it descend unbroken to your children, it will have grown to a mountain of misery upon their heads.

Good policy will require the Southern States, ere long, to close their markets against Northern negroes. When the Southern slave market is closed, or when, by the reduced profits of slave labor in the South, it becomes glutted; — then the stream of Virginia negroes, heretofore pouring dowr upon the South, will be thrown back upon the State, and like a river dammed up, must spread itself over the whole territory of the commonwealth. The head spring in East Virginia cannot contain itself; it must find vent; it will shed its black streams through every gap of the Blue Ridge and pour over the Alleghany, till it is checked by abolitionism on the borders. But even abolitionism cannot finally stop it. Abolitionism itself will tolerate slavery, when slaveholders grow sick and tired of it.

In plain terms, fellow-citizens, Eastern slaveholders will come with their multitudes of slaves to settle upon the fresh lands of West Virginia. Eastern slaves will be sent by thousands for a market in West Virginia. Every valley will echo with the cry, "Negroes! Negroes for sale! Dog cheap! Dog cheap!" And because they are dog cheap, many of our people will buy them. We have shown how slavery has prepared the people for this; how a little slavery makes way for more, and how the law of slave-increase operates to fill up every part of the country to the same level with slaves.

And then, fellow-citizens, when you have suffered your country to be filled with negro slaves instead of white freemen; when its population shall be as motley as Joseph's coat of many colors; as ring-streaked and speckled as father Jacob's flock was in Padan Aram; — what will the white basis of representation avail you, if you obtain it? Whether you obtain it or not, East Virginia will have triumphed; or rather *slavery* will have triumphed, and all Virginia will have become a land of darkness and of the shadow of death.

Then, by a forbearance which has no merit, and a supineness which has no excuse, you will have given to your children, for their inheritance, this lovely land blackened with a negro population, — the offscourings of Eastern Virginia, — the fag-end of slavery, — the loathsome dregs of that cup of abomination, which has already sickened to death the Eastern half of our commonwealth.

Delay not, then, we beseech you, to raise a barrier against this Stygian inundation, — to stand at the Blue Ridge, and with sovereign energy say to this *Black* Sea of misery, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further."

NOTICE.

The decided approbation with which this remarkable speech has been welcomed, not only by citizens of every party in the Free States, but by intelligent and candid men in the Slave States, has induced the subscriber to print this revised and improved edition, in better style, and in larger type, than any previous edition. The price is fixed at only five dollars a hundred, in the hope that the friends of freedom, and all lovers of our common country, will unite in giving this calm, candid, and unanswerable argument an extensive circulation. A few copies have been printed on fine paper, with covers. Orders are respectfully solicited by the Publisher.

Wm. B. Fowle.

5

SPEECH

OF

HORACE MANN,

OF

MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEB. 23, 1849;

ON

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES,

AND THE

THE SLAVE TRADE

IN

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

PRICE—5 CENTS SINGLE; $4 A HUNDRED.

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SPEECH.

Mr. MANN said:

Mr CHAIRMAN: There is a bill upon the Speaker's table which provides for abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. For three successive days we have tried in vain to reach it, in the order of business. Its opponents have baffled our efforts. Our difficulty is not in carrying the bill, but in reaching it. I am not without apprehension that the last sands of this Congress will run out, without any action upon the subject. Even should the bill be taken up, it is probable that all debate upon it will be suppressed by that sovereign silencer,—the previous question. Hence I avail myself of the present opportunity, as it is probably the only one I shall have, during the present session, to submit my views upon it.

I frankly avow, in the outset, that the bill provides for one part only of an evil, whose remedy, as it seems to me, is not only the object of a reasonable desire, but of a rightful and legal demand. The bill proposes the abolition, not of slavery, but only of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. My argument will go to show, that within the limits of this District, slavery ought not to exist in fact, and does not exist in law.

Sir, in the first place, let us inquire what is the state of things in this District on this subject. The gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. R. W. THOMPSON,] who addressed us a few days since, used the following language:

"What is the slave trade in the District of Columbia? I have heard a great deal said about 'slave pens,'—about slaves sold at auction,—and about stripping the mother from the child, and the husband from the wife. These things may exist here, but I do not know of them. Since I have been in the habit of visiting the District,—which is from my boyhood,—I have never seen a negro sold here, —I have never seen a band of negroes taken off by the slave trader. I do not remember that I have ever seen the slave trader himself. I know nothing of the 'slave pen' that is so much talked about. It may be here, however, and these things may happen every day before the eyes of gentlemen who choose to hunt them up, but for myself, I have no taste for such things."

Now sir, if the gentleman means to say that he has no personal knowledge of "slave pens" and of the slave traffic in this District, that is one thing; but if he means to deny or call in question the existence of the traffic itself, or of the dens where its concentrated iniquities make up the daily employment of men, that is quite another thing. Sir, from the western front of this Capitol, from the piazza that opens out from your Congressional Library, as you cast your eye along the horiz and over the conspicuous objects of the landscap —the President's Mansion, the Smithsonian Inst tution, and the site of the Washington Monumen you cannot fail to see the horrid and black recept cles where human beings are penned like cattl and kept like cattle, that they may be sold like ca tle,—as strictly and literally so as oxen and swi are kept and sold at the Smithfield shambles in Lo don, or at the cattle fair in Brighton. In a comm nication made during the last session, by the May of this city, to an honorable member of this Hous *he* acknowledges the existence of slave pens her Up and down the beautiful river that sweeps alor the western margin of the District, slavers con and go, bearing their freight of human souls to l vended in this market-place; and after they ha changed hands, according to the forms of con merce, they are re-transported,—the father of family to go, perhaps, to the rice fields of Sout Carolina, the mother to the cotton fields of Alab ma, and the children to be scattered over the sug plantations of Louisiana or Texas.

Sir, it is notorious that the slave traders of th District advertise for slaves in the newspapers the neighboring counties of Maryland, to be deli ered in any numbers at their slave pens in th city; and that they have agents in the city and ou of it, who are engaged in supplying victims fo their shambles. Since the gentleman from Indian was elected to this Congress, and, I believe, sinc he took his seat in this Congress, one coffle o about sixty slaves came, chained and driven int this city; and at about the same time another coffl of a hundred. Here they were lodged for a shor period, were then sold, and went on their return less way to the engulfing South.

Sir, all this is done here under our own eyes, and within hearing of our own ears. All this is done now, and it has been done for fifty years,—eve since the seat of the National Government was established in this place, and ever since Congress, in accordance with the Constitution, has exercised "*exclusive* legislation" over it. But the gentleman from Indiana, though accustomed to visit this District from his boyhood, has "never seen a negro sold here;" he has "never seen a band of negroes taken off by the slave trader;" he does not remember to have seen the slave trader himself;" he knows "nothing of the slave pen that is so much talked about." Sir, the eye sees, not less from the inner than from the outer light. The eye sees what the mind is disposed to recognize. The image upon the retina is nothing, if there be not an inward sense to discern it. The artist sees beaut

philosopher sees relations of cause and effect; benevolent man catches the slightest tone of row; but the insensate heart can wade through rs and see no weeping, and can live amidst ans of anguish, and the air will be a non-conctor of the sound. I know a true anecdote of American gentleman who walked through the eets of London with a British nobleman; and ng beset at every step of the way by squalid ndicants, the American, at the end of the ex sion, adverted to their having run a gauntlet ween beggars. "What beggars?" said his lordp; "*I have seen none*"

But the gentleman from Indiana says, "but for self, I have no taste for such things." His te explains his vision. Suppose Wilberforce and rkson had had no "taste" for quelling the hors of the African slave trade. Suppose Howard l Mrs. Fry to have had no "taste" for laying n the abominations of the prison-house, and giving relief to the prisoner. Suppose Miss to have had no "taste" for carrying solace and nfort and restoration to the insane. Suppose the be L'Epce to have had no "taste" for teaching f mutes; or the Abbe Hauv for educating the d; or M. Seguin and others for training idiots, for educing docility and decency and a love of er from those almost imperceptible germs of reaand sense, that barely distinguish them from brutes! Suppose these things, and in what a erent condition would the charities and the sufngs of the world have been! Herod had no ste" for sparing the lives of the children of Betheem, and of all the coasts thereof; and doubtless could have said, with entire truth, that he never rd the voice, in Rama, of lamentation and weepand great mourning; nor saw, among all the thers of Syria, any Rachel weeping for her chiln and refusing to be comforted, because they e not. But, sir, just in proportion as the light civilization and Christianity dawns upon the ld, will m n be found who have a "taste" for coring the afflicted and for righting the wronged. was the clearest proof of the Great Teacher's sion, that he had "a taste" for going about, dogood.

During the last fifty years, and especially during last half of these fifty years, the world has made at advances in the principles of liberty. Human its have been recognized, and their practical enment, to some extent, secured. There is not a vernment in Europe, even the most iron and potical of them all, that has not participated in ameliorations which characterize the present . A noble catalogue of rights has been wrestby the British Commons from the British noty. France and Italy have been revolutionized. en the Pope of Rome, whose power seemed as rnal as the hills on which he was seated, has k under the shock. Prussia, and all the Gernic Powers, with the exception of Austria, have n half revolutionized; and even the icy despots of Austria and Russia are forced to relent unthose central fires of liberty which burn forever he human heart, as the central fires of the earth n forever at its core. Great Britain has abold African slavery throughout all her realms.—nce has declared that any one who shall volunly become the owner of a slave, or shall volunly continue to be the owner of a slave cast upon by bequest or inheritance, shall cease to be a zen of France. Denmark has abolished slavery erever it existed in her possessions. The Bey of nis, acting under the light of the Mohamedan reon, has abolished it. The priests of Persia dee the sentiment to have come by tradition from hammed himself, "that the worst of men is the er of men." Not only all civilized nations, but half-civilized, the semi-barbarous, are acting unthe guidance of the clearer light and the higher motives of our day. But there is one conspicuous exception; there is one Government which closes its eyes to this increasing light; which resists the persuasion of these ennobling motives; which, on the grand subject of human liberty and human rights, is stationary and even retrogrades, while the whole world around is advancing; sleeps while all others are awaking; loves its darkness while all others are aspiring and ascending to a purer air and a brighter sky. This Government, too, is the one which is most boastful and vainglorious of its freedom; and, if the humiliating truth must be spoken, this Government is our own. In regard to slavery and the slave trade in this District, where we possess the power of exclusive legislation, we stand where we stood fifty years ago. Not a single ameliorating law has been passed. In practice, we are where we were then; in spirit, there are proofs that we have gone backward.

There are now on the surface of the globe two conspicuous places,—places which are attracting the gaze of the whole civilized world,—whither men and women are brought from great distances to be sold, and whence they are carried to great distances to suffer the heaviest wrongs that human nature can bear. One of these places is the coast of Africa, which is among the most pagan and benighted regions of the earth; the other is the District of Columbia, the capital and seat of Government of the United States.

As far back as 1808 Congress did what it could to abolish the slave trade on the coast of Africa. In 1820 it declared the foreign slave trade to be piracy; but on the 31st of January, 1849, a bill was introduced into this House to abolish the domestic slave trade in this District,—here, in the centre and heart of the nation,—and seventy-two Representatives voted against it,—voted to lay it on the table, where, as we all know, it would sleep a dreamless sleep. This was in the House of Representatives. It is well known that the Senate is still more resistant of progress than the House; and it is the opinion of many that even if a bill should pass both House and Senate, it would receive the Executive veto. By authority of Congress, the city of Washington is the Congo of America.

But, still more degrading than this, there is another contrast which we present to the whole civilized world. The very slaves upon whom we have trodden have risen above us, and their moral superiority makes our conduct ignominious. Not Europeans only, not only Arabians and Turks, are emerging from the inhumanity and the enormities of the slave traffic; but even our own slaves, transplanted to the land of their fathers, are raising barriers against the spread of this execrable commerce. On the shores of Africa, a republic is springing up, whose inhabitants were transplanted from this Egypt of bondage. And now, look at the government which these slaves and descendants of slaves have established, and contrast it with our own. They discard the institution of slavery, while we cherish it. A far greater proportion of their children than of the white children of the slave States of this Union are at school. In the metropolis of their nation, their flag does not protect the slave traffic, nor wave over the slave mart. Would to God that the very opposite of this were not true of our own. Their laws punish the merchandise of human beings; our laws sanction and encourage it. They have erected, and are erecting, fortifications and military posts along the shores of the Atlantic, for seven hundred miles, to prevent pirates from invading the domain of their neighbors, and kidnapping people who, to them, are foreign nations. We open market-places here, at the centre of the nation, where, from seven hundred miles of coast, the sellers may come to sell, and where buyers may come to buy, and whence slaves are carried almost as far from their birthplace as Africa is from America. The Governor of Libe-

ria has lately made a voyage to England and France, and entered into treaties of amity and commerce with them; and he has obtained naval forces from them, to abolish this traffic in human beings. At the same time, we are affording guaranties to the same traffic. Virginia and Maryland are to the slave trade what the interior of Africa once was. The Potomac and the Chesapeake are the American Niger and Bight of Benin; while this District is the great Government barracoon, whence coffles are driven across the country to Alabama or Texas, as slave ships once bore their dreadful cargoes of agony and woe across the Atlantic. The very race, then, which were firs tstolen, brought to this country, despoiled of all the rights which God had given them, kept in bondage for generations, at last, after redeeming themselves, or being restored to their natural liberty in some other way, have crossed the ocean, established a government for themselves, and are now setting us an example which should cause our checks to blister with shame.

Sir, there is an idea often introduced here and elsewhere, and made to bear against any restriction of slavery, or any amelioration of the condition of the slave, which I wish to consider. It was brought odiously and prominently forward the other day, by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. CHARLES BROWN.] The idea is, that the slaves are in a better condition in this country than they would have been at home. It is affirmed that they are brought under some degree of civilizing and humanizing influences amongst us, which they would not have felt in the land of their fathers.

Let us look, first, at the philosophy of this notion, and then at its morality. All those who use this argument as a defence or a mitigation of the evils of slavery, or as a *final cause* for its existence, *assume* that if the present three million slaves who now darken our southern horizon, and fill the air with their groans, had not been here in their present state of bondage, they would have been in Africa, in a state of paganism. Now, the slightest reflection shows that this assumption has no basis of truth. Not one of them all would now have been in existence, if their ancestors had not been brought to this country. And, according to the laws of population operative among barbarous nations, there are now just as many inhabitants,—pagans, cannibals, or what you please,—in Africa, as there would have been if the spoiler had never entered their home, and ravished and borne them into bondage. Among savage nations, or nomadic tribes, the population equals the means of subsistence. Take away two, three, or four per cent. of the consumers, and the vacuum is immediately supplied. The population keeps up to the level of the production. Among such people, there is always a tendency to increase faster than the means of living increase. Take away a part of them, and this tendency to increase takes effect by its own vigor,—it executes itself. It is like a bow that unbends, or a spring that uncoils, as soon as an external pressure is removed. Dam up a fountain, and the weight of the accumulating strata will eventually check the outflow from the spring. So it is of a savage population. Of them the Malthusian theory is true.

And how infinitely absurd and ridiculous is the plea that the slaves are better off here *than* THEY *would have been in Africa!* Go out into the streets of this city, and take the first one you meet,—perhaps he is a mulatto. But for being here, he would have been a mulatto in the middle of Africa, would he? Take them all,—mulatto, mestizo, zambo, and all "the vast variety of man," so far as color is concerned,—and if they had not their existence here, they would have had it in Africa! This is the doctrine. Would they have had the same American names also? Would they have spoken

It is all more silly than the repinings of the si girls who grieved because their mother had n married a certain rich suitor, whose addresses early life she had rejected; for then, said they, h rich *we* should have been! No, not one of the three millions of men, women, and children, wou have been in existence in Africa. All the crime their kidnapping; all the horrors of the mid passage; all their sufferings for two centuries, six generations; and all the calamities that are y to grow out of their condition,—all these crim and agonies are gratuitous crimes and agonies. There is no recompense or palliation for them. They have been added unnecessarily and remorselessly to the amount of human guilt and sufferi for which the white race must answer in the day account. The idea, then, of sending the slaves ba to *their* country is an egregious fallacy. If th were to be sent *back* whence they came, it wou not be to Africa, but to non-entity.

If the ancestors of the present three millions slaves had never been brought here,—if their d scendants had never been propagated here, for t supposed value of their services, their places wou have been supplied by white laborers,—by men the Caucasian race,—by freemen. Instead of t three million slaves, of all colors, we should dout less now have at least three million white, free-bo citizens, adding to the real prosperity of the countr and to the power of the Republic. If the South h not had slaves to do their work for them, they wou have become ingenious and inventive like the Nort and would have enlisted the vast forces of nature their service,—wind and fire and water and stea and lightning, the mighty energies of gravitati and the subtle forces of chemistry. The count might not have had so gaudy and ostentatious civilization as at present, but it would have had o infinitely more pure and sound.

But admit the alledged statement, absurd a false as it is; admit that these three millions slaves would have belonged to Africa if they h not belonged to America,—that they would ha been born of the same fathers and mothers the as here, so that those of them who are Americ mulattoes would have been Ethiopian mulattoe and admit, further, that their present condition better than the alternative condition alleged,—a what then? Is your duty done? Is it enough you have made the condition of a man or of a ra a little better, or any better, if you have not ma it as much better as you can? What standard morals do gentlemen propose to themselves? If fellow-being is suffering under a hundred disease and we can relieve him from them all, what ki of benevolence is that which boasts of relievi him from one, and permits him to suffer under t other ninety-and-nine? By the law of nature a of God, the slave like every other man, is entitl to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; he entitled to his earnings,—to the enjoyment of h social affections,—to the development of his int lectual and moral faculties,—to that cultivation his religious nature which shall fit him, not mere to feel, but reason of righteousness, temperanc and a judgment to come;—he is entitled to all the rights, of which he has been cruelly despoiled; a when he catches some feeble glimmering of son of them, we withhold the rest, and defend ou selves and pride ourselves that he is better off tha he would have been in some other country or son other condition. Suppose the Samaritan had bour up a single wound, or relieved a single pang of t bleeding wayfarer who had fallen among thieve and then had gone to the next inn and boasted his benevolence. He would only have shown t difference between a "good Samaritan" and "bigot Samaritan." The thieves themselves mig

slavery have got to answer before the world and ore Heaven. If American slaves are better off n native Africans, who is to be thanked for it? s their improved condition resulted from any posed plan, any well-digested, systematized isure, carefully thought out, and reasoned out, intended for their benefit? Not at all. In all southern statute books, and legislative records re is no trace of any such scheme. Laws, judi- decisions, the writings of political economists, ll treat the slave as a thing to make money with. icultural societies give rewards for the best os. Horse-jockey societies improve the fleetness the breed for the sports of the turf. Even the s have professional trainers. But not one thing one to bring out the qualities of manhood that buried in a slave. Look through the southern ute books and see what Draconian penalties are cted for teaching a slave to read,—see how he ished for attending a meeting to hear the word God. On every highroad patrols lie in wait to urge him back, if he attempts to visit father, her, wife, child, or friend, on a neighboring itation. By day and by night, at all times and ywhere, he is the victim of an energetic and prehensive system of measures, which blot out senses, paralyze his mind, degrade and brutify nature, and suppress the instinctive workings ruth, generosity, and manhood in his breast the good that reaches him, reaches him in defi- of these privations and disabilities. If any t penetrates to his soul, it is because human cannot weave a cloud dense and dark enough to wholly impervious to it. There are some bless- which the goodness of God will bestow in spite uman efforts to intercept them. It is these which reach the slave. And after having t up all barriers to forbid the access of improve- t; after having sealed his senses by ignorance, more than half obliterated his faculties by neg- and perversion, the oppressor turns round, and use there are some scanty, incidental benefits ring out of the very deplorableness of his con- n, he justifies himself before the world and ns the approval of Heaven, because the slave etter off here than *he* would be in Africa. Sir, an argument as this is an offence to Heaven. nsider it to be as much worse than atheism as stianity is better. And when such an argu- t comes from a gentleman belonging to a free e; when it comes from the gentleman from nsylvania, [Mr. BROWN,] from a representa- of the city of William Penn; without ve, without inducement, offers such a gratuity the devil, I can account for it only on the ciple of the man who, having a keen relish for flesh of swine, said he wished he were a Jew, he might have the pleasure of eating pork and mitting a sin at the same time.

ut the subject presents a still more painful as- . How are slaves made better, and from what ves are they made better, in this country? It secret that I am about to tell. There are cer- virtues and sanctities which increase the pecu- y value of certain slaves; and there are certain s and debasements which increase the market e of others. If a master wishes to repose per- l confidence in his slave, he desires to have him est and faithful to truth. But if he desires to e use of him to deceive and cajole and defraud, he wishes to make him cunning and tricky false. If the master trains the slave to take care is own children, or of his favorite animals, then ishes to have him kind; but if he trains him tasker or a field overseer, then he wishes to him severe. Now, it is in this way that some he Christian attributes of character, being di- ly convertible into money or money's worth, en- auction-block, the hardened and heartless seller dwells upon the Christian graces and religious character of some slaves, with the unction of an Apostle. The purchaser sympathizes, and only desires to know whether the article be a real or a sham Christian. If mere bones and muscles compacted into human shape be worth five hundred dollars, then, if the auctioneer can warrant the subject to have the meekness of Moses and the patience of Job, the same article may be worth seven hundred. If the slave will forgive injuries, not merely seventy times seven times, but injuries inflicted all his life long, then an additional hundred may be bid for him. If he possesses all the attributes of religion and piety, the endurance of a hero, the constancy of a saint, the firmness of a martyr, the trustingness of a disciple,—all except those which go to make him feel like a man, and believe himself a man,—then that which as mere bone and muscle was worth five hundred dollars, is now worth a thousand. Sir, is not this selling the Holy Spirit! Is not this making merchandise of the Savior! Is not this the case of Judas selling his Master over again, with the important exception of the remorse that made the original culprit go and hang himself But suppose the case to be that of a woman; suppose her ability to work and capacity for production to be worth five hundred dollars; suppose, in addition to this, she is young and sprightly and voluptuous; suppose the repeated infusion of Saxon blood has almost washed the darkness from her skin; and suppose she is not unwilling to submit herself to the libertine's embrace; then, too, that which before was worth but five hundred dollars, will now bring a thousand. And thus infernal as well as celestial qualities are coined into money, according to the demands of the market and the uses of the purchaser.

Now, it is only in some such incidental way, and with regard to some individuals, that it can be said, that their condition is better here than it would be in Africa. And this improvement, where it exists, is not the result of any system of measures designed for their benefit, but is the product of selfish motives, turning godliness into gain; and where more gain or more gratification can be obtained by the debasement, the irreligion, the pollution of the slave, there the instincts of chastity, the sanctity of the marriage relation, the holiness of maternal love, are all profaned to give security and zest to the guilty pleasures of the sensualist and debauchee. There are individual exceptions to what I have said,—exceptions, which amid surrounding iniquity shine "like a jewel in an Ethiop's ear," but they are exceptions. Laws, institutions, and the prevailing public sentiment are as I have described.

I regard the argument, therefore, of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BROWN] not only as utterly unsound and false in its premises, but as blasphemous in its conclusions. Common blasphemy seldom reaches beyond exclamation. It is some fiery outburst of impious passion, that flashes and expires. But the gentleman reasons it out coolly. His is argumentative blasphemy, borrowing the forms of logic that it may appear to have its force, and transferring it from the passions to the intellect, to give it permanency.

But the gentleman from Pennsylvania retorts upon Massachusetts, and refers to certain things in her history which he regards as disreputable to her. In this, he has been followed by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. BEDINGER,] who has poured out a torrent of abuse upon my native State, and who has attempted to fortify his own intemperate accusations from a pro-slavery pamphlet which has been profusely scattered about this House within a few days past, and which is not merely full of falsehoods, but is composed of falsehoods; so that if

covers left.* Sir, I am very far from arrogating for Massachusetts all the merits and the virtues which she ought to possess. I mourn over her errors, and would die to reform, rather than spend one breath to defend them. The recital of her offences can fall more sadly upon no ear than upon my own. But it is as true of a State as of an individual, that repentance is the first step towards reformation. Massachusetts has committed errors; but when they were seen to be errors, she discarded them. She once held slaves; but when she saw that slavery was contrary to the rights of man and the law of God, she emancipated them. She was the first government in the civilized world,—in the whole world, ancient or modern,—to abolish slavery, wherever she had power to do so. This is an honor that no rival can ever snatch from her brow. Once,—I say it with humiliation,—she was engaged in the slave trade. But all the gold that could be earned by the accursed traffic, though spent in the splendors of luxury and the seductions of hospitality, could not save the trader himself from infamy and scorn; and I am sure I am right in saying that the slave trade ceased to be conducted by Massachusetts merchants and to be carried on in Massachusetts ships, from Massachusetts ports, before it was abandoned by the merchants and discontinued in the ships and from the ports of any other commercial State or nation in the world. This, too, is an honor, which it will be hers, through all the immortality of the ages, alone to wear. But Massachusetts, it is still said, has her idolaters of Mammon in other forms. It is charged upon her that many of her children still wallow in the sty of intemperance; that her spiritualism runs wild in religious vagaries; and that something of the old leaven of persecution still clings to her heart. In vindicating what is right, I will not defend what is wrong. I cannot deny,—would to God that I could, —that we still have vices and vicious men amongst us. There are those there, as elsewhere, who if they were to hear for the first time of the River of Life flowing fast by the throne of God, would instinctively ask whether there were any good mill-sites on it. There are those there, as elsewhere, whose highest aspirations for heaven and for happiness, whether for this life or for another, are a distillery and a sugar-house, with steam machinery to mix the products. There, as elsewhere, there are religionists who are quick to imitate the Savior when he strikes, but despise his example when he heals.

But, sir, let me say this for Massachusetts, that whatever sins she may have committed in former times,—whatever dissenters she may have persecuted, or witches she may have hanged, or Africans she may have stolen and sold,—she has long since abandoned these offences, and is bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. And is a State to have no benefit from a statute of limitations? Is a crime committed by ancestors to be forever imputed to their posterity? This is worse than non-forgiveness; it is making punishment hereditary. Sir, of these offences, Massachusetts has repented and reformed; and she is giving that noble t of atonements or expiations, which consists in repairing the wrong that has been done; and where the victim of the wrong has himself passed away, and is beyond relief, then in paying, with large interest, the debt to humanity, which the special creditor is no longer present to receive, by seeking out the objects of want and suffering, wherever they may be found. Sir, our accusers unconsciously do us the highest honor, when, in their zeal to malign us, they seek for historical reproaches. If they could find present offences wherewith to upbraid us they would not exhume the past. But they condemn themselves, for they show that even the resuscitation of the errors of the dead gives them more pleasure than a contemplation of the virtues of the living. One thing is certain, the moment the other States shall imitate our present example they will cease to condemn us for our past offences. The sympathy of a common desire for improvement will destroy the pleasure of crimination.

And where, I ask, on the surface of the earth, is there a population of only eight hundred thousand who are striving so earnestly and doing so much to advance the cause of humanity and civilization, as is doing by the people of Massachusetts? Where else, where universal suffrage is allowed, is a million of dollars voted every year, by the very men who have to pay it, for the public, free education of every child in the State? Where else, by such a limited population, is another million of dollars voluntarily voted and paid each year for the salaries of clergymen alone? Where else, where the population is so small, and natural resources so few and scanty, is still another million of dollars annually given in charity?—the greater portion of which is sent beyond their own borders, flows into every State in the Union, and leaves not a nation on the globe, nor an island in the sea unwatered by its fertilizing streams. Look into the statute book of Massachusetts, for the last twenty years, and you will see how the whole current of her legislation has set in the direction of human improvement,—for succoring disease or restoration from it, for supplying the privations of nature, for reclaiming the vicious, for elevating all,—a comprehensiveness of scope that takes in every human being, and an energy of action that follows every individual with a blessing to his home. When others will abandon their offences, then let the remembrance of them be blotted out.

But, sir, I think it proper to advert to the fact that I have had other proofs, during the present session of Congress, of the same spirit of crimination and obloquy, which was so fully developed in the speeches of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BROWN] and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BEDINGER.] Through the post office of the House of Representatives, I have been in the regular receipt of anonymous letters, made up mainly of small slips cut from newspapers printed at the North, describing some case of murder, suicide, robbery, or other offence. These have been arranged under the heads of different States,—Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, &c., and accompanied, in the margin, with rude drawings of a schoolbook or a schoolhouse, and all referred to common schools, as to their source. Two only, of the whole number thus collected, originated in Massachusetts, and one of these was a case of suicide committed by a man who had become insane from the loss of his wife. Which of these events, in the opinion of my anonymous correspondent, constituted the crime,—whether the bereavement that caused the insanity, or the suicide committed in one of its paroxysms,—I am unable to say. Now what satisfaction even a bad man could have in referring offences against law and morality to the institution of public schools, when he must have known that the very existence of the offences only proves that education has not yet done its perfect work, I cannot conceive. And what spite, either against an educational office which I once held, or against an institution which is worthy of all honor, could be so mean and paltry as to derive gratification from referring me to long lists of offences, only one of which was committed in my native State, I must leave for others to conjecture. Surely the

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*Lecture on the North and South. Delivered in Col-

ımber of crimes perpetrated in Massachusetts, I ɔuld take his letters home and carry them into ır public schools, and make them the text for a rmon, in which I would warn the children to beare of all crimes, and especially of the meanness ıd the wickedness which feels a complacency in e crimes of others, or can give a false paternity them. And, sir, I should be sure of a response, r out of those schools there is going forth a nobler nd of young men and women than ever before nferred intelligence, virtue, refinement, and reɔwn upon any people or community on the face of e globe.

But whatever may be said in mitigation or in conemnation of slavery elsewhere, there are special asons why it should be discontinued in this Disict. This District is the common property of the ation. Having power of exclusive legislation over , we are all responsible for the institutions in it. Vhile slaves exist in it, therefore, it can be charged pon the North that they uphold slavery. This is njust to us, because it places us before the world the attitude of sustaining what we condemn. It ounds our moral and religious sensibilities, beuse we believe the institution to be cruel towards en, and sinful in the sight of Heaven; and yet e are made apparently to sanction it. It is like at species of injustice where a man is compelled a tax to support a religion which he disbelieves, ıd to pay a hierarchy whom his conscience compels m to denounce. But the existence of slavery here not necessary to the faith or the practice of our uthern brethren. If they believe it to be a useful ıd justifiable institution, then they evince the sinrity of that belief by sustaining and perpetuating at home. For this purpose, there is no necessity a crusade to propagate it, or sustain it elsewhere.

Look at the relation which we bear to it, in anher respect. I have been taught from my earliest ildhood that "all men are created equal." This s become in me not merely a conviction of the derstanding, but a sentiment of the heart. This axim is my principle of action, whenever I am lled upon to act; and it rises spontaneously to y contemplations when I speculate upon human ity. It is the plainest corollary from the doctrine the natural equality of man, that when I see a an, or a class of men, who are not equal to myself opportunities, in gifts, in means of improvement, in motives and incitements to an elevated characr and an exemplary life,—I say, it is the plainest rollary, that I should desire to elevate those men an equality with myself. However far my own e may fall below the standard of Christianity and ntlemanliness, yet I hold it to be clear, that no an is a Christian or a gentleman, who does not rry about an habitual frame of mind which ompts him, as far as he has the means to do it, instruct all the ignorance, to relieve all the prittions, to minister to all the pains, and to supply the deficiencies of those with whom he meets the daily walks of life; and, so far as he is a an who wields influence, possesses authority, or ercises legislative power, he is bound to exert s gifts and his prerogatives for the amelioration d the improvement of his fellow-men. This is e lowest standard of duty that any one who pires to be a Christian or a gentleman can set for his guidance. Now take the case of a man om the North, who has incorporated these views any similitude of these views, into his character, d who has occasion to visit this District. Supse him to be elected and sent here as a member Congress, or to be appointed to a post in some the departments, or to visit this city on public siness, or to come here from motives of curiity; what is the sight which is inflicted upon m when he first sets his foot within this comsides and directs? Sir, when he first alights from the cars that bring him within your limits and your jurisdiction, he beholds a degraded caste,—a race of men whom God endowed with the faculties of intelligence, but whom man has despoiled of the power of improving those faculties, squalid in their garb, betraying ignorance in every word they utter, uncultivated in their manners and their tastes, fawning for a favor, instead of standing erect like men who are conscious of rights; or, if they have outgrown servile and sycophantic habits, then erring on the side of impudence and insolence as much as they erred before on that of cringing and servility. He repairs to his lodgings, and there, too, all his moral sensibilities are shocked and outraged, by seeing a class of men and women hopelessly degraded, cut off by law and custom from all opportunity of emerging from their debasement; whom no talent, taste, or virtue can ever redeem to the pleasures and the rights of social intercourse. He sees men and women who are not degraded on account of the services they perform,—for "honor and shame from no condition rise,"—but degraded by the motive and spirit from which the services are performed; men and women who have no inducements to industry and frugality, for their earnings will all be seized by another; who have no incentives to self-respect, for they can never emerge from their menial condition; who are bereaved of all the wonders and glories of knowledge, lest under its expansions their natures should burst the thraldom that enslaves them; and all whose manly qualities, all whose higher faculties, therefore, are irredeemably and hopelessly crushed, extinguished, obliterated, so that nothing but the animal, which the master can use for his selfish purposes, remains.

Mr. Brodhead. Would you advance the slaves to an equal social and political condition with the white race?

Mr. Mann. I would give to every human being the best opportunity I could to develop and cultivate the faculties which God has bestowed upon him, and which, therefore, he holds under a divine charter. I would take from his neck the heel that has trodden him down; I would dispel from his mind the cloud that has shrouded him in moral night; I would remove the obstructions that have forbidden his soul to aspire; and having done this, I would leave him, as I would leave every other man, to find his level,—to occupy the position to which he should be entitled by his intelligence and his virtues. I entertain no fears on the much-dreaded subject of amalgamation. Legal amalgamation between the races will never take place, unless, in the changed condition of society, reasons shall exist to warrant and sanction it; and in that case it will carry its own justification with it. But one thing I could never understand,—why those who are so horror-stricken at the idea of *theoretic* amalgamation, should exhibit to the world, in all their cities, on all their plantations, and in all their households, such numberless proofs of *practical* amalgamation. I never could see why those who arraign and condemn us at the North, so vehemently, because, as they say, we obtrude our prying eyes into what they call a "domestic" or "fireside" institution, should have no hesitation in exhibiting to the world, through all their borders, ten thousand and ten times ten thousand living witnesses that they make it a bedside institution. Multitudes of the slaves of the South bear about upon their persons a brand as indelible as that of Cain; but the mark has been fastened upon them, not for their own crimes, but for the crimes of their fathers. In the complexion of the slave, we read the horrid history of the guilt of the enslavers. They demonstrate that the one race has been to the other, not

But to resume: When the visiter to this city from the North leaves his lodgings, and goes into the public streets, half the people whom he meets there are of the same degraded class. Their tattered dress and unseemly manners denote congenital debasement. Their language proclaims their ignorance. If you have occasion to send them on an errand, they cannot read the direction of a note, or a sign on a shop-board. Their ideas are limited within the narrowest range. They speak the natural language of servility, and they wear the livery of an inferior condition. The conviction of their deplorable state is perpetually forced upon the mind. You do not need their color to remind you of their degradation. Color, sir! They are oftentimes almost as white as ourselves. Sir, there is not a member of Congress who has not frequently seen some of his fellow-members, in the spring of the year, with a jaundiced skin more sallow and more yellow than that of many a slave who is bought and sold and owned in this city. I have seen members of this House to whom I have been disposed to give a friendly caution to keep their "free papers" about their persons, lest suddenly, on the presumption from color, they should be seized and sold for runaway slaves. A yellow complexion here is so common a badge of slavery, that one whose skin is colored by disease is by no means out of danger. To enjoy security, a man must do more than take care of his life; he must take care of his health. It is not enough to take heed to the meditations of his heart; he must see also to the secretions of his liver.

But, sir, the stranger from the North visits the courts of justice in this city; he goes into halls set apart and consecrated, even in the dark and half-heathenish periods of English history, to the investigation of truth and the administration of justice; but if he sees any specimens of the colored race there, he sees them only as menials. They cannot go there as witnesses. However atrocious the wrongs they may suffer in their own person and character, or in the person and character of wife or children, they cannot appeal to the courts to avenge or redress them. If introduced there at all, it is as a bale of goods is introduced, or as an ox or a horse is brought within their purlieus, for the purpose of trying some disputed question of identity or ownership. They go not as suitors, but as sacrifices. In the courts of law; in the temples with which all our ideas of justice, of right between man and man, are associated; where truth goes to be vindicated, where innocence flies to be avenged; —in these courts, an entire portion of the human race are known, not as men, but as chattels, as cattle. Where, for them, is the Magna Charta, that the old barons wrested from King John? Is a whole race to be forever doomed to this outlawry? Are they forever to wear a "wolf's head," which every white man may cut off when he pleases? Sir, it cannot be that this state of things will last forever. If all the rights of the black race are thus withheld from them, it is just as certain as the progress of time that they, too, will have their Runnymede, their Declaration of Independence, their Bunker Hill, and their Yorktown.

Such, sir, are the sights that molest us when we come here from the North,—that molest us in the hotels, that molest us in the streets, that molest us in the courts, that molest us everywhere. But the week passes away, and the Sabbath comes,—the day of rest from worldly toils, the day set apart for social worship, when men come together, and by their mutual presence and assistance, lift up the hearts of each other in gratitude to God. But where now are the colored population, that seemed to be so numerous everywhere else? Have they no God? Have they no interest in a Savior's example and pre-[illegible]dens and anxieties of life? Is their futurity so uncertain or so worthless that they need no guide to a better country, or that they can be turned off with a guide as ignorant and blind as themselves?

We go from the courts and the churches to the schools. But no child in whose skin there is a shadow of a shade of African complexion is to be found there. The channels are so cut that all the sacred and healing waters of knowledge flow, not to him, but by him. Sir, of all the remorseless and wanton cruelties ever committed in this world of wickedness and woe, I hold that to be the most remorseless and wanton which shuts out from all the means of instruction a being whom God has endued with the capacities of knowledge, and inspired with the divine desire *to know*. Strike blossom and beauty from the vernal season of the year, and leave it sombre and cheerless; annihilate the harmonies with which the birds of spring make vocal the field and the forest, and let exulting Nature become silent and desolate; dry up even those fountains of joy and gladsomeness that flow unbidden from the heart of childhood, and let the radiant countenance of youth become dull and stony like that of age;—do all this, if you will, but withhold your profane hand from those creative sources of knowledge which shall give ever-renewing and ever-increasing delight through all the cycles of immortality, and which have the power to assimilate the finite creature more and more nearly to the infinite Creator. Sir, he who denies to children the acquisition of knowledge works devilish miracles. If a man destroys my power of hearing, it is precisely the same to me as though, leaving my faculty of hearing untouched, he had annihilated all the melodies and harmonies of the universe. If a man obliterates my power of vision, it is precisely the same to me as though he had blotted out the light of the sun, and flung a pall of darkness over all the beauties of the earth and the glories of the firmament. So if a usurper of human rights takes away from a child the faculties of knowledge, or the means and opportunities to know, it is precisely the same to that child as though all the beauties and the wonders, all the magnificence and the glory of the universe itself had been destroyed. To one who is permitted to know nothing of the charms and sublimities of science, all science is non-existent. To one who is permitted to know nothing of the historical past, all the past generations of men are a non-entity. To one whose mind is not made capacious of the future, and opened to receive it, all the great interests of futurity have less of reality than a dream. I say, therefore, in strict, literal, philosophical truth, that whoever denies knowledge to children works devilish miracles. Just so far as he disables and incapacitates them from knowing, he annihilates the objects of knowledge; he obliterates history; he destroys the countless materials in the natural world that might, through the medium of the useful arts, be converted into human comforts and blessings; he suspends the sublime order and progression of Nature, and blots out those wonderful relations of cause and effect that belong to her unchangeable laws. Nay, there is a sense in which such an impious destroyer of knowledge may be said to annihilate the Creator himself, for he does annihilate the capacity of forming a conception of that Creator, and thus prevents a soul that was created in the image of God from ever receiving the image it was created to reflect. Such a destroyer of knowledge dims the highest moral splendor of the universe. God is more to me than a grand and solitary Being, though refulgent with infinite perfections. Contemplated as enthroned in the midst of His works, His spiritual offspring in all the worlds he has formed become a multiplying glass, reflecting back the Original in all the profusion and countlessness

capacity of reflecting back this radiant image of the Creator, then all that part of the universe where they dwell becomes black and revolting, and all that portion of the Mirror of Souls which was designed to reproduce and rekindle the glories of the Eternal, absorbs and quenches the rays which it should have caught and flamed with anew, and multiplied and returned. And still further, sir, I affirm, in words as true and literal as any that belong to geometry, that the man who withholds knowledge from a child not only works diabolical miracles for the destruction of good, but for the creation of evil also. He who shuts out truth, by the same act opens the door to all the error that supplies its place. Ignorance breeds monsters to fill up all the vacuities of the soul that are unoccupied by the verities of knowledge. He who dethrones the idea of Law, bids Chaos welcome in its stead. Superstition is the mathematical complement of religious truth; and just so much less as the life of a human being is reclaimed to good, just so much more is it delivered over to evil. The man or the institution, therefore, that withholds knowledge from a child, or from a race of children, exercises the awful power of changing the world in which they are to live, just as much as though he should annihilate all that is most lovely and grand in this planet of ours, or transport the victim of his cruelty to some dark and frigid zone of the universe, where the sweets of knowledge are unknown, and the terrors of ignorance hold their undisputed and remorseless reign. Sir, the laws recorded in the statute books of the free States, providing the means of education, and wooing the children to receive the blessedness of true knowledge, are worthy to be inscribed as emblems and hierglyphics upon the golden gates of Heaven; but those laws which deform the statute books of the slave States of this Union, making it a penal offence to educate human beings, and dooming immortal souls to perpetual ignorance, would make the most appropriate adornment wherewith to embellish with inscription and bas-relief the pillars of the council-hall of Pandemonium.

Sir, if there is anything for which I would go back to childhood, and live this weary life over again, it is for the burning, exalting, transporting thrill and ecstacy with which the young faculties hold their earliest communion with knowledge. When the panting and thirsting soul first drinks the delicious waters of truth; when the moral and intellectual tastes and desires first seize the fragrant fruits that flourish in the garden of knowledge; then does the child catch a glimpse and foretaste of Heaven. He regales himself upon the nectar and ambrosia of the gods. Late in life, this zest is rarely if ever felt so keenly as at the beginning. Such ought not to be the fact; but our bodies are so systematically abused by transgressions of the laws of health and life, that the sympathizing soul loses the keenness of its early relish. Even then, however, age has its compensations. The old may experience the delights of learning, anew, in the reflex pleasure of seeing children learn. But these lofty and enduring satisfactions,—this pleasure, it is no extravagance to say, this bliss of knowledge, both for parent and child, is withheld, cruelly, remorselessly withheld from the slave. We know all this; we see its imbruting consequences; and we are compelled to see them, because the Government will uphold slavery here.

Such, sir, is the spectacle which is presented to all northern men, whenever for duty, for business, or for pleasure, they visit this metropolis. Wherever we go, wherever we are, the odious, abhorred concomitants of this institution are forced upon our observation, and become a perpetual bitterness in the cup of life. The whole system, with all its

of man; we believe it to be contrary to the law of God. Whether these feelings wear away by the lapse of time, and the indurating power of custom, I know not; but, for one, I hope never to become hardened and callous to the sight; for it is a case where I could experience no mitigation of my pains, without a corresponding debasement of my nature.

Now, in all sincerity, and in all kindness, I ask our southern brethern, what there is to them so valuable and desirable in retaining slavery here, as to be a compensation for all the pain and evil which its existence inflicts upon the North? Surely its abandonment here would be a small thing to them, while its continuance is a great thing to us. It is a great thing to us, because we are held responsible for it by the whole civilized world. This District is the common possession of the nation. Congress has power of exclusive legislation over it. Congress, therefore, is responsible for its institutions as a man is responsible for the condition of his house, and the customs of his family. The General Government is not responsible for the local institutions of Massachusetts or of Mississippi. Each of them has supreme control over its own domestic concerns. They may honorably discharge their debts or repudiate them; they may build up institutions of charity, of learning, and of religion; or they may suffer inhumanity and violence, ignorance and paganism, to prevail; and we, here, cannot help it, and therefore are not responsible for it. But it is wholly otherwise with regard to the institutions that prevail in this District; their honor, or their infamy attaches to us. We are judged by them the world round. We of the northern States feel it at home; we are made to feel it still more deeply abroad. Throughout every nation in Europe, it is the common language and the common sentiment, that an institution which exists in one half of the States of this Union is in flagrant contrast and contradiction to the theory of our Government. When we are reminded of this,—whether in a kindly and expostulatory manner by our friends, or in an offensive and taunting one by our enemies, we of the North can say, at least, that we are not responsible for it. We can explain why we are no more amenable for the local laws of Arkansas or Missouri, than we are for the Catholic religion in Mexico, or for the revolutions in the South American republics. This is our answer. But they still retort upon us, and say, There is one spot for which you are responsible,—the District of Columbia. You could abolish slavery there if you would; you do not; and therefore the sin of its continuance is yours, as much so as if it existed in New York or Massachusetts. Now, I ask southern gentlemen how it is consistent with magnanimity and honor, with a fraternal feeling towards the North, for them to force the odium of this inconsistency upon us? Surely they gain no credit, no character by it; we lose both credit and character. The existence of slavery here is no benefit to them; it is of unspeakable injury to us They would lose nothing by surrendering it; we suffer everything by its continuance. A change would work them no injury; it would be invaluable to us. I ask them on principles of common fairness and good neighborhood, that they should courteously and voluntarily yield us this point, which would allay so much bitterness and heart-burning at the North, and which, according to their view of the matter, would fill the South with the sweet savor of a generous deed.

I know, sir, that some southern gentlemen profess to see a principle in such a course that debars them from adopting it. They say that if slavery in this District should be surrendered, it would only be giving the adversary a vantage ground, on which he could plant himself to attack slavery in the States. I dissent from this view entirely. Has not the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) who is supposed to represent the extreme anti-slavery views which exist in this House,—has he not declared here, a hundred times over, that he disclaims all right, that he renounces all legal authority and pretext, under the Constitution, to lay the hands of this Government, for the purpose of freeing him, on a single slave in the slave States? But clearly the principle is different in regard to slaves in this District, where we possess the power of "exclusive legislation." But if gentlemen at the South see a principle which debars them from surrendering slavery in this District, we at the North see a principle which prompts us and will prompt us, until the work is accomplished, to renewed exertions. On the same ground on which slavery in this District has been defended for the last fifty years, it can be defended for the next fifty, or the next five hundred years; it can be defended for ever. This idea of perpetual slavery in the very household of a republic of

me but fair and equitable. The South has held this metropolis as a slave capital for fifty years. Let it now be held as a free capital for fifty years; and if, at the end of this period, adequate reasons can be shown, before any nation, civilized or uncivilized, upon the face of the earth, for restoring it to slavery again, I for one, should have no fears of entering into an engagement upon such a condition, that it should again become "a land of Egypt and a house of bondage."

Notwithstanding I have dwelt so long upon the social and moral aspects of this subject, I am still tempted not to forego that which was my principal object in rising, namely, to submit an argument on the question of the legality or constitutionality of slavery in this District. I have bestowed much careful attention upon this subject, with the sincerest desire of arriving at true, legal, and constitutional results. I submit my views with deference, because I know they are in conflict with the views of others for whose knowledge and abilities I have the profoundest respect.

The legality of slavery in the District of Columbia has been assumed, and practically acquiesced in, for fifty years. Had the question of its validity been raised, and argued on the principles of the Constitution, immediately after the creation of the District, I believe this territory would have been declared free soil. In my conscientious opinion, slavery exists in this District only by original usurpation and subsequent acquiescence. If so, Congress cannot be too speedily invoked to abdicate the power it has usurped.

The first position I take is this, *that slavery has no legal existence, unless by force of positive law.*

If any man claims authority over the body, mind, and soul of one of his fellow-men, and claims this authority not only for the whole life of his victim, but a like authority over all his descendants, there is no part of the civilized world where he will not be required to show some positive law, authorising the power and the bondage. If the claimant says, "I am stronger, or I am wiser than he;" or "I have an Anglo-Saxon brain, while he has only an African brain;" or "my skin is white and his skin is not white;" or "I descended from Shem and he from Ham; and, therefore he is my slave,"—there is not a court in Christendom, which, though it may admit the fact, will ratify the inference. If the claimant affirms that it is *morally* right for him to seize his fellow-man and reduce him to slavery; if he brings the Bible into court as his law-book, and cites Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Paul, as his authorities; still, I say, there is not a court in Christendom that will not deny the validity of the title, and rebuke the arrogance of the demand.* Positive law, then, is the only foundation of slavery. The authorities are numerous, if not numberless, to establish this position. I shall not encumber this argument by citing many of them. The few which I shall cite will contain a reference to the rest.

The grand reason against slavery given by Lord Mansfield, in Somersett's case, was, "that it is so intrinsically 'wrong that it is incapable of being introduced into any 'country, on any reasons moral or political, and can only 'stand on positive law." (20 State Trials, 1.)

Chief Justice Marshall says, "that it [slavery] is contrary 'to the law of nature, will scarcely be denied. That every 'man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labor, is 'generally admitted; and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits and appropriate them 'against his will, seems to be the necessary result of this 'admission." (Antelope, 10 Wheat., 120.)

"The first objection," says Mr. Justice Best, in the case of Forbes and Cochrane, "which occurs to me, in this case, is that it does not appear, in the special case, that the right to slaves exists in East Florida. *That right is not a general but a local right*; it ought, therefore, to have been shown that it existed in Florida, and that the defendants knew of its existence. Assuming, however, that those facts did appear, still, under the circumstances of this case, this action could not be maintained.

"The question is, were these persons slaves at the time when Sir G. Cockburn refused to do the act which he was desired to do? I am decidedly of opinion that they were no longer slaves. The moment they put their feet on board of a *British* man-of-war, not lying within the waters of East Florida, (where undoubtedly the laws of that country would prevail,) those persons who had before been slaves were free. * * * Slavery is a local law, and therefore, if a man wishes to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains; *for the instant they get beyond the limits where slavery is recognized by the local law, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from their prison, and are free.*" (2 Barn. & Cres., 466–7, Forbes *vs.* Cochrane, S. C., 3 Dowl. and Ryland, 679.)

"I am of opinion," says Holroyd, J., in the same case, "that according to the principles of the English law the right to slaves, even in a country where such rights are recognized by law, must be considered as founded, not upon the law of nature, but upon the particular law of that country."

"The law of slavery is a law *in invitum*; *and when a party gets out of the territory where it prevails*, and out of the power of his master, and gets under the protection of another power, without any wrongful act done by the party giving that protection, the right of the master, *which is founded on the municipal law of the particular place only*, does not continue, and there is no right of action against a party who merely receives the slave in that country, without doing any wrongful act."

The definition of slavery given by the Roman law implies that it is local: *Servitus est constitutio juris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno*, CONTRA NATURAM, *subjicitur.* 18 Pick. Rep., 193, Commonwealth *vs.* Aves. Lunsford *vs.* Coquillon, 14 Martin's Rep. 402. "The relation of owner and slave is a creation of the municipal law." 3 Marshall, 470, Ky., Rankin *vs.* Lydia. 1 Wash. C. C. Rep., 499, Butler *vs.* Hopper. 4 Wash. C. C. 293, *Ex parte* Simmons. 9 Curry's Louisiana Rep., 473, Marie Louise *vs* Marot *et al.*

This point may be presented in another light. By the law of nature all men are free. But in some Governments the law of the State, upheld by the power of the State, overrides the law of nature, and enslaves a portion of the people. The law of nature recedes before this legalized violence; but it recedes no further than the legalized violence drives it back. Within the jurisdictional limits of such States, then, slavery is made *legal*, though it is not made *right*. But if a slave passes out of the jurisdiction where violence overpowers right, into a jurisdiction where right is superior to violence, he is then free; not because there is any change in the man, but because there is a change in the laws to which the man is subject.

There may, however, be some further positive law which, though it does not authorize the buying or selling of a slave, still does provide that an escaped or escaping slave may be recaptured and redelivered into bondage. Such is the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States. Such, too, is the act of Congress of February 12, 1793, providing for the recapture of fugitive slaves. This, however, would not be without positive law.

The debates in all the conventions for adopting the Constitution of the United States, proceed upon the ground that slavery depends upon positive law for its existence. If it did not,—if a man who has a legal right to a slave in Virginia, has a legal right to him anywhere, then the provision in the Constitution, and the act of 1793, for recapturing fugitive slaves, would have been unnecessary.

On the south side of a boundary line, then, slavery may exist by force of positive law; while, on the north side, in the absence of any such law, slavery is unlawful. A slave passing out of a jurisdiction where slavery is legalized, into a jurisdiction where it is not, becomes free. It is as though a man should migrate from one of those South Sea islands, where cannibalism is legalized, and where the public authorities, according to the reports of travellers not only condemn and execute a criminal, *but dine on him, after he is executed*,—it is, I say, as though the subject of such a government should migrate into one where cannibalism is not lawful, and where, therefore, though he should be condemned and executed for crime, it would be no part of the sentence or the ceremony that he should be eaten. He is out of cannibal jurisdiction.

The right of freedom is a natural right. It is a positive existence. It is a moral entity. Like the right to life, it pertains, by the law of nature and of God, to every human being. This moral right continues to exist until it is abolished. Some act abolishing this freedom, then, must be proved; it must be proved affirmatively, or else the fact of freedom remains. This is the solid and indestructible

*An anecdote, which I have on the best authority, is not inappropriate. A few years ago, a citizen of the State of Connecticut absconded, leaving a wife behind him. He went to the State of Mississippi where he took a colored woman as his concubine, had children by her, acquired property, and died. The wife and heirs in Connecticut claimed the property acquired in Mississippi. The claim was contested. The honorable HENRY S. FOOTE, now a Senator from that State, conducted the defence. He denied the title of the wife in Connecticut, affirmed that of the concubine and her children in Mississippi, and cited the case of Abraham

2. My second position is this: *That a man's legal condition may be changed by a change in the Government over him, while he remains in the same place, just as effectually as it can be changed by his removal to another place, and putting himself under another government.* The inhabitants of the North American colonies did not change their place of residence when they passed from under the Government of Great Britain, and came under the Government of the Confederation. The Mexicans, inhabiting the then States of California and New Mexico, did not change their place of residence, when, on the thirtieth day of May last, they ceased to be citizens of the Mexican Republic, and became citizens, or *quasi* citizens of the United States. Their political relations were changed, not by their removal from under the canopy of one government and placing themselves under the canopy of another government, but by the withdrawal of one government from over them, and by the extension to them of certain *political* rights and capacities under another government. Before this thirtieth day of May, they could have committed treason against Mexico, but not after it. Before it, they could not commit treason against the United States; but when they shall be citizens of the Union, they can. These vital changes in their relations are without any change in their residence. Within my recollection, an old gentleman died in Massachusetts, who had lived in five different towns, but still remained where he was born, like one of the old oak trees, on the old homestead. The part of the original town where he was born had been set off and incorporated into a new town; and that part of the second town where he lived, into a third; and so on, until he died in the fifth town, without any change of domicil. Now, this man lived under the jurisdiction and by-laws of five towns, as they were successively incorporated over him, just as much as though he had struck his tent five times, and placed himself, by successive migrations, under five different municipal jurisdictions.

A similar thing must have happened to thousands of our fellow-citizens of the Union: some of them at first lived under a foreign government; then under one territorial government; then under another; and at last have become citizens of a State, without any change of domicil. Indeed, it would seem that nothing can be clearer than the proposition, whether regarded as a legal or a political one, than that the laws and the jurisdiction may be changed over a man who continues to reside in the same place, just as effectually and as completely as a man may change the laws and jurisdiction over himself by removing to a different place. In many cases, the former works a more thorough change than the latter. The laws of Great Britain do not acknowledge the right of self-expatriation; while, at the same time, it is held, that the inhabitants of a foreign province, incorporated into the kingdom, change their allegiance without changing their residence.

3. My third proposition is this: *that the jurisdiction under which the inhabitants of what is now the District of Columbia lived, prior to the cession of the District by Maryland to the United States, was utterly and totally changed, at the moment of the cession,—at the moment when, according to the provisions of the Constitution, they ceased to be citizens of the State of Maryland, and became citizens of the District of Columbia.*

By the 17th paragraph (Hickey's Constitution) of the 8th section of the 1st article, it is provided that Congress shall have power "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases 'whatsoever over such District, (not exceeding ten miles 'square,) as may, by cession of particular States, and the 'acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Govern-'ment of the United States."

Congress, then, has the power of sole and exclusive legislation "in all cases whatsoever," in regard to the District of Columbia. What is the meaning of the word "exclusive" in this connection? It cannot mean *absolute* and *uncontrolled*; for, if it did, it would make Congress as sovereign as the Russian autocrat. It means that no other government, no other body of men whatever, shall have concurrent power of legislation over the District; nor, indeed, any subordinate power, except what may be derived from Congress. Over every man who is a citizen of one of the United States, there are two jurisdictions,—the jurisdiction of the General Government, and the jurisdiction of the State government. There are two governments that have the power to legislate for him; but there is only one power,—the Congress of the United States,—that can legislate for a citizen of the District of Columbia.

In Kendall vs. The United States, 12 Peters, 524, it is said: "There is in the District of Columbia no division of 'powers between the General and State governments

So it has been held that a justice of the peace in the District of Columbia is an officer of the Government of the United States, and is therefore exempt from militia duty. Wise *vs.* Withers, 3 Cranch, 331; 1 Cond. Rep., 552.

A citizen of the District of Columbia is not a citizen of any one of the United States. Hepburn *et al. vs.* Ellery, 2 Cranch, 445; Westcott's Lessee *vs.* Inhabitants ———, Peters' C. C. R., 45.

Up to the time of the cession, the inhabitants of this District were under two jurisdictions,—that of Maryland and that of Congress; but after the cession, under that of Congress alone. Now, when the inhabitants of this District passed out of the jurisdiction of Maryland, and came under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, let us see what was the effect of such change of jurisdiction upon them.

In the act of Congress of 1790, chap. 28, sect. 1, which was an act for establishing the seat of government of the United States, there is the following clause: "*Provided, 'nevertheless,* That the operation of the laws of the State '[of Maryland] within such District shall not be affected by 'this acceptance, *until the time fixed for the removal of the 'government thereto, and until Congress shall otherwise by law 'provide.*"

Here, then, Congress *expressly* provided and contracted with the State of Maryland, that the laws of Maryland in this District should not be interfered with, until the removal of the seat of government to this place; and Congress likewise *impliedly* provided and contracted, that when the seat of government should be removed to this place, it would discharge the duty imposed upon it by the Constitution of the United States, and would assume and exercise the "exclusive legislation" provided for in that instrument. This act of Congress was approved on the 16th of July, 1790

By the Maryland laws of 1791, chap. 45, sect. 2, that State ceded to the United States the territory which now constitutes the District of Columbia, and the words of the cession are these: "in full and absolute right, as well of soil as of 'person, residing or to reside thereon," &c. * * * provided that the jurisdiction of the laws of Maryland "shall not cease or determine *until Congress shall by law provide for the government thereof.*"

The state of the case, then, was simply this: 1. The Constitution gave Congress power of "exclusive legislation" over such district as might be ceded for the seat of government. 2. Congress, by the act of 1790, above referred to, proposed to the State of Maryland to accept a portion of her territory for this purpose, but engaged not to interfere with her laws until after it had taken actual possession of the ceded territory. 3. Maryland accepted the proposition, rehearsing the condition in these words; namely, that "the laws of Maryland shall not cease or determine until Congress shall by law provide for the government thereof."

By the 6th section of the act of 1790, chap. 28, Congress provided that it would remove to this District, and make this the seat of government, on the first Monday of December, 1800. It did so; and now its express duty under the Constitution, and its implied promise to the State of Maryland, were to be fulfilled, by exercising "exclusive legislation" over this District.

In fulfilment of this duty and promise, Congress, on the 27th of February, 1801, by the act of 1801, ch. 15, proceeded to legislate for the District of Columbia; and, in the first section of that act, it provided as follows:

"*Be it enacted, &c.,* That the laws of the State of Virginia, as they now exist, shall be and continue in force in that part the of District of Columbia which was ceded by the said State to the United States, and by them accepted for the permanent seat of Government; and that the laws of the State of Maryland, as they now exist, shall be and continue in force in that part of the said District which was ceded by that State to the United States, and by them accepted, as aforesaid."

By this act, then, Congress assumed to exercise, and did exercise, that exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, which had been provided for by the Constitution.

That portion of the District which was ceded to Congress by Virginia, having been receded to that State by the act of Congress of July 9, 1846, (st. 1846, ch. 35) all that relates to it may, for the purposes of this argument, be laid out of the question.

On the 27th day of February, 1801, then, the laws of Maryland, *as such*, were abrogated in this District. The legislative power of Congress became exclusive. All legislative power previously possessed by Maryland over it, then ceased. The connection of Maryland with this District, as a part of its former territory, and occupied by its former

Historically, we may talk about the laws of Maryland, as they once existed here; but practically, and as a matter of strict law and fact, her laws were no longer known within the District. The laws which governed the people of this District after the 27th day of February, 1801, were the laws of Congress, and not the laws of Maryland.

To show that this part of the District passed out from under the government of Maryland, and came under the government of the United States, I refer to Reilly, appellant, *vs* Lamar *et al.*, 2d Cranch 344, 1 Cond. Rep. 322, where it is said, "By the separation of the District of Co- 'lumbia from the State of Maryland, the residents in that 'part of Maryland which became a part of the District, "ceased to be citizens of the State." It was held, in that case, that a citizen of the District of Columbia could not be discharged by the insolvent law of Maryland.

A citizen of the District of Columbia cannot maintain an action in the circuit court of the United States out of the District, he not being a citizen of the State within the meaning of the provision of the law of the United States regulating the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States. Hepburn *et al. vs.* Ellzey, 2d Cranch, 445, 1st Cond. Rep., 444. See also Loughborough *vs.* Blake, 5 Wheat., 317, and Levy Court of Washington *vs.* Ringgold, 5 Peters, 451.

4. The next point of inquiry is, *what is the legal force and effect, upon the subject of slavery, of the act of Congress of* 1801, *before cited?* Its words are: "That the laws of the 'State of Maryland, as they now exist, shall be continued 'in force in that part of said District which was ceded by 'that State to the United States," &c. And here, I acknowledge that the operation of this clause is precisely the same as though Congress had transcribed all the Maryland laws, word for word, and letter for letter, into its own statute book, with the clause prefixed, "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," and the President of the United States had affixed his signature thereto. I acknowledge further, that the laws of Maryland had legalized slavery within the State of Maryland, and had defined what classes of persons might be held as slaves therein.

But it by no means follows, because Congress proposed to re-enact, in terms, for this District, all the laws of Maryland, that, therefore, it did re-enact them. It does not follow, that because two Legislatures use the same words, that the words must necessarily have the same effect. It makes all the difference in the world, whether words are used by one possessed of power, or by one devoid of power. Congress might pass a law in precisely the same words as those used by the Parliament of Great Britain, and yet the law of Congress be invalid and inoperative, while the act of Parliament would be valid and binding. We have a written constitution; Great Britain has no written constitution. The British Parliament, on many subjects has an ampler jurisdiction than the American Congress. The law of Congress might be unconstitutional and void, while that of the British Parliament, framed in precisely the same language, might be constitutional and binding.

So the law of Maryland might be valid under the constitution of Maryland, and therefore binding upon the citizens of Maryland; while the law of Congress, though framed in precisely the same words, would be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and therefore have no validity.

Now this is precisely the case here. Congress, in attempting to re-enact the Maryland laws, to uphold slavery in this District, transcended the limits of its constitutional power. It acted unconstitutionally. It acted in plain contravention of some of the plainest and most obvious principles consecrated by the Constitution. If so, no one will dispute that its act is void. I do not deny, then, that Congress used words of sufficient amplitude to cover slavery; but what I deny is, that it had any power to give legal force to those words.

5. My next proposition, therefore, is this: that *as Congress can do nothing excepting what it is empowered to do by the Constitution, and as the Constitution does not empower it to establish slavery here, it cannot establish slavery here, nor continue it.*

Where is there any *express* power given to Congress by the Constitution to establish slavery? Where is the article, section, or clause? I demand to have the title shown. Thousands of human beings are not to be robbed of all their dearest rights; and they and their children, forever, by strained constructions, or apocryphal authority, doomed to bondage. Will those who say that Congress cannot establish a banking institution by construction, nor aid internal improvements, nor enact a tariff,—will they say that can make a man a slave, and all his posterity slaves, by construction?

Nor can any power to establish slavery be deduced from the 18th clause of the 8th section of the 1st article of the Constitution, which gives Congress power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers that are granted.

What power is granted to Congress, for the exercise of which, the establishment of slavery in this District is a necessary means or preliminary? Congress has power to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money; to regulate commerce; to establish uniform rules of naturalization; to coin money; to punish counterfeiters; to establish post offices and post roads; to promote the progress of science and the arts; to establish courts; to define and punish piracies on the high seas; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to organize and maintain a militia; and so forth, and so forth. But to what one of all these powers, is the power to establish slavery in the District of Columbia a necessary incident? If slavery in the District of Columbia were to cease to-day, could not the Government continue to exercise every function which it has heretofore exercised? If so, then the existence of slavery in this District is not "necessary" to the exercise of any of the expressly granted. I call upon any gentleman to name any one power of this Government which cannot be exercised, which must necessarily cease, if slavery should cease to be, in this District of Columbia? "I pause for a reply."

Well, then, if a power to establish slavery in this District is not among the granted powers, and if it is not necessary for the exercise of any one of the granted powers, then it is nowhere,—it does not exist at all. No power of Congress, then, exists, either for the creation or for the continuance of slavery in this District; and all the legislation of Congress upon this subject is beyond or against the Constitution.

Let me illustrate this in another way. Suppose there had been a religious establishment in Maryland at the time of the cession; suppose, under the auspices of Lord Baltimore, the Catholic religion had been established as the religion of the State; and that, in order to punish heresy and secure conformity to the religion of the State, an inquisition had been founded, and that the seat of that inquisition had been within the limits of the District of Columbia, at the time of the cession: could Congress, in the absence of all express or implied authority on the subject of establishing a State religion, have upheld the Catholic religion here, and appointed the officers of the inquisition to administer it? The idea is abhorrent to the whole spirit of the Constitution. But Congress had as much power to establish a national religion here, in the absence of all express or implied authority to do so, as to establish slavery here.

Congress, then, does not and cannot legalize slavery in this District. It found slavery in existence in the States; and it does not abolish it, or interfere with it, because it has no power of "exclusive legislation" in them. But Congress has as much right to go into any State and abolish slavery there, as any State, even Virginia or Maryland, has to come into this District with its laws and establish slavery here. I suppose that no jurist will contend that Congress could have passed the act of 1793, for the recapture of fugitive slaves, had it not been for the third clause in the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which provides for the redelivery of a fugitive slave, on the claim of his master. By this article in the Constitution, the case of *fugitive* slaves only is provided for. If a master voluntarily carries his slave into a free State, and the slave departs from his possession, he cannot reclaim him. Why not? Why cannot Congress pass a law, that if a man takes a dozen slaves to Boston, and they there see fit to strike for wages, and to leave his possession because their terms are not complied with,—why is it, I ask, that Congress cannot pass a law authorizing their seizure and delivery into the master's hands? The reason is, that the Constitution has conferred upon Congress no such express power, nor is any such power implied as being necessary to the exercise of any power that is expressed. And if Congress cannot so much as restore a slave to a master, who has voluntarily carried him into a free State, how can it continue slavery in this District, after Maryland has ceded it to this Government, whose fundamental, organic law gives it no power to create or continue slavery here?

Suppose Maryland had ceded her share of the District to Massachusetts, would not every slave in it have been instantaneously free by the Constitution of Massachusetts? They would have been transferred to a free jurisdiction,—just as much as an individual owner of a slave passes under a free jurisdiction, when he voluntarily takes his slave to the North. The legal existence of slavery was annulled in this District, when Congress exercised its "exclusive" power over it, just as much as the debtor's right to be discharged under the Maryland bankrupt law was annulled.

But I go further than this; and I say that the Constitution not only does not empower Congress to establish or continue slavery in this District, but again and again, by the strongest implications possible, it prohibits the exercise

In regard to this whole matter of slavery, the Constitution touches the subject with an averted face. The abhorred word "*slave*" is nowhere mentioned in it. The Constitution is ashamed to utter such a name. The country, coming fresh from that baptism of fire,—the American Revolution,—would not profane its lips with this unhallowed word. Hence, circumlocution is resorted to. It seeks to escape a guilty confession. Like a culprit, in whom some love of character still survives, it speaks of its offence without calling it by name. It uses the reputable and honorable word "persons," instead of the accursed word "slaves." As the Tyrian Queen, about to perpetrate a deed which would consign her character to infamy, called it by the sacred name of "marriage," and committed it,—

"*Hoc prætexit nomine culpam* ;"

so the Constitution about to recognize the most guilty and cruel of all relations between man and man, sought to avert its eyes from the act, and to pacify the remonstrances of conscience against every participation in the crime, by hiding the deed under a reputable word.

But let us look to the prohibitions of the Constitution ; for I maintain that there is not only no power, express or implied, in the Constitution authorizing Congress to create or continue slavery in this District, but that it is debarred and prohibited from doing so, again and again.

I suppose no one will deny that the positive prohibitions, against the exercise of certain enumerated powers, apply to Congress, when legislating for this District, just as much as when legislating for the Union at large. This doctrine has recently been strongly asserted by Mr. Calhoun in the Senate of the United States ; and, as I would gladly produce conviction in southern minds, I make use of this southern authority. He affirms that Congress, in legislating for the Territories, "is subject to many and important restrictions and conditions, of which some are expressed and others implied. Among the former may be 'classed all the general and absolute prohibitions of the 'Constitution ; that is, all those which prohibit the exer'cise of certain powers under any circumstances. In this 'class is included the prohibition of granting titles of no'bility ; passing *ex post facto* laws and bills of attainder ; the 'suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, except in certain 'cases ; making laws respecting the establishment of re'ligion, or its free exercise, and every other of like description."

Will any man say that Congress can pass an *ex post facto* law for this District, and defend itself by referring to its power of exclusive legislation over it? Can Congress pass a bill of attainder corrupting the blood of an inhabitant of this District, or repeal or suspend at any time, his right to a writ of *habeas corpus*, or establish a religion here, or interdict the free exercise thereof? No jurist, no statesman will pretend it.

But there is another prohibition in the Constitution every whit as full and explicit as any of these. The fifth article of amendment declares that "no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

Here the Constitution uses the word "person",—the most comprehensive word it could find. "No PERSON shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Now, what does this word "person" mean? Or who, under the Constitution, is such a "person" as cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property, by virtue of an act of Congress, *without due process of law* ? Let us take our definition of the word "*person*" from the Constitution itself : "No *person* shall be a Representative, who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years," &c., (see 2d clause of the 2d section of the 1st article.) "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free *persons*, including those bound to service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other *persons*. (3d clause of the same section.") "No *person* shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years," &c., (1st art., 3d section, 3d clause.) "No *person* shall be convicted [of an impeachable offence, by the Senate,] without the concurrence of two thirds," (1st art., 3d section, 6th clause.) "No *person* holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House, during his continuance in office," (1st art., 6th section, 2d clause.) "The migration or importation of such *persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited,"—"but a tax, or duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each *person*," &c., (1st art., 9th section, 1st clause.) "No *person* holding any office of profit or trust," "shall accept any present," &c., (1st art., 9th section, 8th clause.) "No *person* holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector," (art. 2, section 1, clause 2.) "The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two *persons*," &c. "The *person* having the greatest number of votes shall be the President," &c. "If no *person* have a majority," &c. "In every case, after the choice of the President, the *person* having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be Vice President," (art. 2, section 1, clause 2.*) "No *person* except a natural-born citizen," &c., "shall be eligible to the office of President : neither shall any *person* be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years," &c. "No *person* shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses," &c., (art. 3, section 3, clause 3.) "A *person* charged in any State with treason," &c., (art. 4, section 2, clause 2.) "No *person* held to service or labor," &c., (art. 4, section 2, clause 3.)

Now, it will be seen from all this, that the word "*person*" is used in the Constitution in the most comprehensive sense. It embraces Indians, if taxed ; it embraces natives of Africa ; it embraces apprentices and slaves, or those held to service or labor ; and it embraces every citizen from the humblest to the highest, from the most true to the most treasonable It embraces all, from the slave to the President of the United States. And after having used the word to embrace all these classes and descriptions of men, it proceeds to say, in an amendment, that "*no* PERSON *shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.*" (Amendment, article 5.)

The law of Maryland ceded this District to Congress, "in full and absolute right, as well of soil as of *person*, residing or to reside therein."

Now Congress, in attempting to legalize slavery in the District of Columbia, has provided in terms, by its adoption of the Maryland laws, that one man may hold another man in bondage in this District, "WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW," and indeed without any process of law ; may hold him in bondage from his birth ; may beget him, and still hold him and his posterity in bondage. "Process of law" means legal proceedings. It is a phrase that does not pertain to the legislature, but to the courts. It means the institution of a suit in civil matters ; the finding of an indictment, or an information in criminal ones ; the issuing of subpœnas for witnesses, &c., in both. [See Art. 6 of Amendments to the Constitution.]

Now, a slave is a *person* deprived of his liberty and property, without any process of law. There has been no "due" process of law to reduce him to this miserable condition ; there has been no process of law at all. A slave, therefore, in this District, is deprived of his liberty and property, in pursuance of the laws of Congress, without *any* legal process whatever, and therefore in flagrant contradiction of the fifth article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Hence, the act of Congress, purporting to continue the Maryland laws respecting slavery in this District, was, and is, and forever must be, until the Constitution is altered, null and void.

There is a striking historical fact in regard to the phraseology of this fifth article of amendment. Its substance was proposed by several States. Virginia proposed it in the following words : "No *freeman* ought to be taken, im'prisoned, or disseized of his freehold liberties, privileges, 'or franchises, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner 'destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but 'by the law of the land." (See 3 Elliott's Debates, 593—Proceedings of June 27, 1788. Also, 4 Elliott's Debates, 216, for the same amendment, as proposed by the State of New York.

The Virginia amendment used the word "freeman." It proposed that no "freeman" should be deprived, &c. The New York amendment used the work "*person.*" And the amendment was adopted and ratified, almost in the words of the New York phraseology. The word *person* was chosen, and therefore Congress has no constitutional power to deprive of life, liberty, or property, *without due process of law*, any being embraced in the definition of that word. By its own selection of words, it is debarred not merely from depriving a "*freeman*," but from depriving a "*person.*"

When Congress attempted to legalize and perpetuate slavery in this District, it violated the fourth article of the Amendments, which declares "the right of the people to be *secure* in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures." If Congress cannot authorize domiciliary searches and seizures against a single individual, can it degrade a whole race of men to the condition of slaves, and then say that *because they are slaves*, they shall not be "secure ;" but shall be at the mercy of any alleged master, in regard to their persons,—to be commanded and restrained, to be bought and sold? If Congress cannot authorize searches and seizures of

* This clause in the Constitution is annulled ; but for all purposes of determining the true interpretation of words, it is a good as ever.

houses, papers and effects, can it get around the Constitution, by saying we will create a class of persons who shall have no power of owning any houses, papers, or effects, to be searched or seized?

Again: Congress shall pass "no bill of attainder." What is a bill of attainder? It is a bill that works corruption of blood. It disfranchises its object. It takes away from him the common privileges of a citizen. It makes a man incapable of acquiring, inheriting, or transmitting property; incapable of holding office, or acting as attorney for others; and it shuts the door of the courts against him. These disabling consequences may descend to a man's children after him, though this is not necessary. Now, to pass such a bill is a thing which Congress cannot do. But when Congress undertook to legalize slavery in this District. it undertook to do all this, and worse than all this. It attainted, not individuals merely, but a whole race. A slave is an outlaw; that is, he cannot make a contract; he cannot prosecute and defend in court; property cannot be acquired by him, or devised to him, or transmitted through him. A white man may give his testimony against him, but he cannot give his testimony against a white man. He is despoiled of his *liberam legem*,—his birth-right. He cannot own the food or clothes he has earned. What is his, is his master's. And this corruption of blood, which the law of slavery works, does not stop with the first, nor with the second generation,—not with the tenth nor the ten thousandth; but by the theory of the law, goes on forever. Bills of attainder, during the history of the worst periods of the world, have applied to individuals only, or at most to a family. But here, Congress, in defiance of the Constitution, has undertaken to establish a degraded caste in society, and to perpetuate it through all generations. Now, can any reasonable man for a moment suppose that the Constitution meant to debar Congress from passing acts of attainder against individuals, but to permit it to pass wholesale, sweeping laws, working disfranchisement of an entire race, and entailing degradation forever?

Let us look at another general prohibition of the Constitution: "No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States," (art. 1, section 9, clause 8.) "The distinction of rank and honors," says Blackstone "is necessary in every well-governed State, in order to reward such as are eminent for their services to the public." But the framers of the Constitution did not think so; the people of the United States did not think so; and therefore they incorporated a provision into their organic law that "no title of nobility should be granted." But it matters not whether the favored individual is called "Marquess" or "Master." If he is invested by the Government with a monopoly of rights and privileges, in virtue of his title and its legal incidents, without any corresponding civil duties, he belongs to an order of nobility,—he is a nobleman. Mr. McDuffie defends the institution of slavery, on the ground that it establishes the highest of all ranks and the broadest of all distinctions between men. He says no nation has yet existed which has not in some form created the distinction of classes,—such as patrician and plebeian, or citizen and helot, or lord and commoner.—and that the institution of slavery stands here instead of these orders, and supersedes them all, by being equivalent to them all. Now, is it not inconceivable that the Constitution should interdict the bestowment of special favors to distinguished individuals for meritorious services, and yet should authorize Congress to confer the highest of all earthly prerogatives,—the prerogative over property, liberty, and volition itself, upon one class of men over another class of men? Yet if Congress can create or legalize slavery, it can establish the worst order of nobility that ever existed. It can give to one class of men the power to own and to control, to punish and to despoil another class; to sell father, mother, wife and children, into bondage. To prohibit Congress from doing one of these things, and to permit it to do the other, is straining at a gnat, while swallowing a camel,—a whole caravan of camels!

But the same clause in the Constitution which gives Congress the power of exclusive legislation over this District, also empowers it "to exercise like authority over all 'places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of 'the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of 'forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful 'buildings" If, then, Congress has any constitutional power to legalize slavery in this District, it has the same power to legalize it (that is, to create it) in all places in the State of Massachusetts or New York, or any other, where it may have obtained territory from a State for a fort, magazine, arsenal, dock-yard, or other needful building. Where it has obtained land in the middle of a city,—Philadelphia, New York, Boston, or Chicago,—for a custom-house, it may create slavery there. The power to do this is conferred in precisely the same words as the power by which it has been held that slavery can be established in the District of Columbia.

And now I will occupy the few minutes that are left me in considering what seems to me the only plausible argument that can be urged in favor of the constitutionality of slavery in this District.

It may be said, that when a Territory is obtained by one nation from another, whether by conquest or by treaty, the laws which governed the inhabitants at the time of the conquest or cession, remain in force until they are abrogated by the laws of the conquering or purchasing power. For this principle, the authority of Lord Mansfield, in the case of Campbell *vs.* Hall, 1 Cowper, 208, may be cited The decision of our own courts are to the same effect. (See 2 Gallison's Reports, 501, United States, appt., *vs.* Juan Percheman; 7 Peters, 51, Johnson *vs.* McIntosh; 8 Wheat., 543.) I do not dispute the authority of this case. But it does not touch the question I am arguing; or, so far as it bears upon it at all, it confirms the views I would enforce. The principle is, that the existing laws remain in force *until* they are abrogated. I agree to this. But in the case of the District of Columbia, there was a special agreement between Maryland and the United States, that as soon as the United States should legislate for the District, the laws of Maryland, *as such*, should cease to be operative here. On the 27th day of February, 1801, therefore, all the rights which the citizens of this District possessed, they possessed under the law of Congress, and not under the law of Maryland. On the day preceding, a citizen could have voted for Governor or other State officers of Maryland; on the day following, he could no longer vote for any such officer. On the day preceding, he could have voted for electors of President and Vice President of the United States; on the day following, he was bereft of all such right of the elective franchise, and must accept such officers and legislators as the rest of the country might choose to elect for him. On the day preceding, he might, in the character of an insolvent debtor, have been discharged under the insolvent laws of Maryland; on the day following, he could no longer be so discharged. On the day preceding, he might have been required, though a justice of the peace of the State of Maryland, to perform militia duty; but on the day following, if commissioned as a justice of the peace of the District of Columbia, he could not be compelled to perform militia duty, because he would, in such case, be an officer of the United States. On the day preceding, he might have sued in the circuit court of the United States. as being a citizen of Maryland; but, on the day following, he could not so sue, because he had ceased to be a citizen of a State Thus the change of jurisdiction over him deprived him of some privileges, and relieved him from some burdens. It deprived him of these privileges, and relieved him from these burdens, notwithstanding the act of Congress had said, in unambiguous words, "the laws of the State of 'Maryland, AS THEY NOW EXIST, *shall be and continue in 'force* in that part of the said District which was ceded 'by that State to the United States." But the most momentous change which was wrought by the transfer of the citizen from the jurisdiction of Maryland to the jurisdiction of the United States, was that which made it impossible for him any longer to hold a slave. Under the laws of Maryland. he might have held his slave, for her statutes had legalized slavery; but under the Constitution of the United States, he could not hold a slave; for that Constitution had given Congress no power to legalize slavery in this District, and had gone so far as to make prohibitions against it. His right to hold slaves then expired, or fell, like his right to vote for United States officers, or for State officers, or his right to be discharged under the Maryland insolvent law, or his right to sue in certain courts, &c., &c.

One point more, sir, and I have done: Why, says my opponent, did not the right to hold slaves continue after the change of jurisdiction as well as the right to hold horses? For the plainest of all reasons, I answer: for the reason that a horse is *property* by the universal consent of mankind, by the recognition of every civilized court in Christendom, without any positive law declaring it to be the subject of ownership. But a *man* is not property, without positive law; without a law declaring him to be the subject of ownership. There was such a positive law in Maryland; but Congress, for want of constitutional authority, could not enact, revive, or continue it. And such I verily believe would have been the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, had the question been carried before them immediately subsequent to the act of 1801. But now, as slavery has existed practically in this District for half a century, it is proper to pass a law abolishing it. It is better, under the present circumstances, that slavery should be abolished here by a law of Congress, than by the decision of a court; because Congress can provide an indemnity for the owners, and let the slaves go free. But should it be abolished by a legal adjudication, every slave would be hurried away to the South, and sold, he and his descendants, into perpetual bondage.

CALIFORNIA, UNION, AND FREEDOM.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

ON THE

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 11, 1850.

Four years ago, California, a Mexican Province, scarcely inhabited and quite unexplored, was unknown even to our usually immoderate desires, except by a harbor, capacious and tranquil, which only statesmen then foresaw would be useful in the oriental commerce of a far distant, if not merely chimerical, future.

A year ago, California was a mere military dependency of our own, and we were celebrating with unanimity and enthusiasm its acquisition, with its newly-discovered but yet untold and untouched mineral wealth, as the most auspicious of many and unparalleled achievements.

To-day, California is a State, more populous than the least and richer than several of the greatest of our thirty States. This same California, thus rich and populous, is here asking admission into the Union, and finds us debating the dissolution of the Union itself.

No wonder if we are perplexed with ever-changing embarrassments! No wonder if we are appalled by ever-increasing responsibilities! No wonder if we are bewildered by the ever-augmenting magnitude and rapidity of national vicissitudes!

SHALL CALIFORNIA BE RECEIVED? For myself, upon my individual judgment and conscience, I answer, Yes. For myself, as an instructed representative of one of the States, of that one even of the States which is soonest and longest to be pressed in commercial and political rivalry by the new Commonwealth, I answer, Yes. Let California come in. Every new State, whether she come from the East or from the West, every new State, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from the clime where the west dies away into the rising east; California, which bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold—is doubly welcome.

And now I inquire, first, *Why should California be rejected?* All the objections are founded only in the circumstances of her coming, and in the organic law which she presents for our confirmation.

1st. California comes UNCEREMONIOUSLY, without a *preliminary* consent of Congress, and therefore by usurpation. This allegation, I think, is not quite true; at least not quite true in spirit. California is not here of her own pure volition. We tore California violently from her place in the Confederation of Mexican States, and stipulated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, that the territory should be admitted by States into the American Union as speedily as possible.

But the letter of the objection still holds. California does come without a preliminary consent by Congress to form a Constitution. But Michigan and other States presented themselves in the same unauthorized way, and Congress *waived the irregularity*, and sanctioned the usurpation. California pleads these precedents. Is not the plea sufficient?

But it has been said by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [MR. CALHOUN,] that the Ordinance of 1787 secured to Michigan the right to become a State, when she should have sixty thousand inhabitants. Owing to some neglect, Congress delayed taking the census. And this is said in palliation of the irregularity of Michigan. But California, as has been seen, had a treaty, and Congress, instead of giving previous consent, and instead of giving her the customary Territorial Government, as they did to Michigan, failed to do either, and thus practically refused both, and so abandoned the new community, under most unpropitious circumstances, to anarchy. California then made a Constitution for herself, but not unnecessarily and presumptuously, as Michigan did. She made a Constitution for herself, and she comes here under the law, the paramount law of self-preservation.

In that she stands justified. Indeed, California is more than justified. She was a *colony*, a *military* colony. All colonies, especially military colonies, are incongruous with our political system, and they are equally open to corruption and exposed to oppression.

They are, therefore, not more unfortunate in their own proper condition than fruitful of dangers to the parent Democracy. California, then, acted wisely and well in establishing self-government. She deserves not rebuke, but praise and approbation. Nor does this objection come with a good grace from those who offer it. If California were now content to receive only a Territorial charter, we could not agree to grant it without an inhibition of slavery, which, in that case, being a Federal act, would render the attitude of California, as a Territory, even more offensive to those who now repel her than she is as a State, with the same inhibition in the Constitution of her own voluntary choice.

A second objection is, *California has assigned her own boundaries without the previous authority of Congress.* But she was left to organize herself without any boundaries fixed by previous law or by prescription. She was obliged, therefore, to assume boundaries, since without boundaries she must have remained unorganized.

A third objection is, that California is too large.

I answer, first, there is no common standard of States. California, although greater than many, is less than one of the States.

Secondly. California, if too large, may be divided with her own consent, which is all the security we have for reducing the magnitude and averting the preponderance of Texas.

Thirdly. The boundaries of California seem not at all *unnatural.* The territory circumscribed is altogether contiguous and compact.

Fourthly. The boundaries are convenient. They embrace only inhabited portions of the country, commercially connected with the port of San Francisco. No one has pretended to offer boundaries more in harmony with the physical outlines of the region concerned, or more convenient for civil administration.

But to draw closer to the question, what shall be the boundaries of a new State concerns—

First. The State herself, and California of course is content.

Secondly. Adjacent communities. Oregon does not complain of encroachment, and there is no other adjacent community to complain.

Thirdly. The other States of the Union. The larger the Pacific States, the smaller will be their relative power in the Senate. All the States now here are Atlantic States and inland States, and surely they may well indulge California in the largest liberty of boundaries.

The fourth objection to the admission of California is, that no census had been taken, and no laws prescribing the qualifications of suffrage and the apportionment of Representatives in Convention, existed before her Convention was held.

I answer, California was left to act *ab initio.* She must begin somewhere, without a census, and without such laws. The Pilgrim Fathers began in the same way on board the Mayflower; and, since it has been objected that some of the electors in California may have been aliens, I add, that all of the Pilgrim Fathers were aliens and strangers to the Commonwealth of Plymouth.

Again, the objection may well be *waived*, if the Constitution of California is satisfactory, first to herself, secondly to the United States.

First. Not a murmur of discontent has followed California to this place.

Second. As to ourselves, we confine our inquiries about the constitution of a new State to four things—

1st. The *boundaries* assumed; and I have considered that point in this case already.

2d. That the domain within the State is secured to us. And it is admitted that this has been properly done.

3d. That the Constitution shall be republican, and not aristocratic or monarchical. In this case the only objection is that the Constitution, inasmuch as it inhibits slavery, is altogether too republican.

4th. That the representation claimed shall be just and equal. No one denies that the population of California, is sufficient to demand two representatives on the federal basis; and, secondly, a new census is at hand, and the error, if there is one, will be immediately corrected.

The fifth objection is—California comes under Executive influence. 1st. In her coming as a free State. 2d. In her coming at all.

The first charge rests on suspicion only, is peremptorily denied, and the denial is not controverted by proofs. I dismiss it altogether.

The second is true, to the extent that the present President advised the people of California, that having been left without any civil government, under the military supervision of the Executive, without any authority of law whatever, the adoption of a Constitution, subject to the approval of Congress would be regarded favorably by the President. Only a year ago, it was complained that the exercise of the military power to maintain law and order in California, was a fearful innovation. But now the wind has changed, and blows even stronger from the opposite quarter.

May this Republic never have a President commit a more serious or more dangerous usurpation of power than the act of the present eminent Chief Magistrate, in endeavoring to induce legislative authority to relieve him from the exercise of military power, by establishing civil institutions regulated by law in distant provinces! Rome would have been standing this day, if she had had such generals and such tribunes.

3d. But the objection, whether true in part, or even in the whole, is immaterial. The question is not what moved California to impress any particular feature on her Constitution, nor even what induced her to adopt a Constitution at all; but it is whether, since she has adopted a Constitution, she shall be admitted into the Union.

I have now reviewed all the objections rai

against the admission of California. It is seen that they have no foundation in the law of nature and of nations. Nor are they founded in the Constitution, for the Constitution prescribes no form or manner of proceeding in the admission of new States, but leaves the whole to the discretion of Congress. "Congress may admit new States." The objections are all merely formal and technical. They rest on precedents which have not always, nor even generally, been observed. But it is said that we ought now to establish a safe precedent for the future.

I answer 1st. It is too late to seize this occasion for that purpose. The irregularities complained of being unavoidable, the caution should have been exercised when, 1st, Texas was annexed; 2d, when we waged war against Mexico; or, 3d, when we ratified the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

I answer 2d. We may establish precedents at pleasure. Our successors will exercise *their* pleasure about following them, just as we have done in such cases.

I answer 3d. States, nations, and empires, are apt to be peculiarly capricious, not only as to the *time*, but even as to the *manner* of their being born, and as to their subsequent political changes. They are not accustomed to conform to precedents. California sprang from the head of the nation, not only complete in proportions and full armed, but ripe for affiliation with its members.

I proceed now to state my reasons for the opinion that California OUGHT TO BE ADMITTED. The population of the United States consists of natives of Caucasian origin, and exotics of the same derivation. The native mass rapidly assimilates to itself and absorbs the exotic, and thus these constitute one homogeneous people. The African race, bond and free, and the aborigines, savage and civilized, being incapable of such assimilation and absorption, remain distinct, and, owing to their peculiar condition, they constitute inferior masses, and may be regarded as accidental if not disturbing political forces. The ruling homogeneous family planted at first on the Atlantic shore, and following an obvious law, is seen continually and rapidly spreading itself westward year by year, subduing the wilderness and the prairie, and thus extending this great political community, which, as fast as it advances, breaks into distinct States for municipal purposes only, while the whole constitutes one entire contiguous and compact nation.

Well established calculations in political arithmetic enable us to say that the aggregate population of the

nation now is		- - -	22,000,000
That 10 years hence it will be		-	30,000,000
" 20 do	do	- -	38,000,000
" 30 do	do	- -	50,000,000
" 40 do	do	- -	64,000,000
" 50 do	do	- -	80,000,000
" 100, that is, in the year 1950		-	200,000,000

equal nearly to one-fourth of the present aggregate population of the globe, and double the population of Europe at the time of the discovery of America. But the advance of population on the Pacific will far exceed what has heretofore occurred on the Atlantic coast, while emigration even here is outstripping the calculations on which the estimates are based. There are silver and gold in the mountains and ravines of California. The granite of New England and New York is barren.

Allowing due consideration to the increasing density of our population, we are safe in assuming, that long before this mass shall have attained the maximum of numbers indicated, the entire width of our possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean will be covered by it, and be brought into social maturity and complete political organization.

The question now arises, Shall this one great people, having a common origin, a common language, a common religion, common sentiments, interests, sympathies, and hopes, remain one political State, one nation, one republic, or shall it be broken into two conflicting and probably hostile nations or republics? There cannot ultimately be more than two. For the habit of association is already formed, as the interests of mutual intercourse are being formed. It is already ascertained where the centre of political power must rest. It must rest in the agricultural interests and masses, who will occupy the interior of the continent. These masses, if they cannot all command access to both oceans, will not be obstructed in their approaches to that one, which offers the greatest facilities to their commerce.

Shall the American people, then, be divided? Before deciding on this question, let us consider our position, our power, and capabilities.

The world contains no seat of empire so magnificent as this; which, while it embraces all the varying climates of the temperate zone, and is traversed by wide-expanding lakes and long-branching rivers, offers supplies on the Atlantic shores to the overcrowded nations of Europe, while on the Pacific coast it intercepts the commerce of the Indies. The nation thus situated, and enjoying forest, mineral, and agricultural resources unequalled, if endowed also with moral energies adequate to the achievement of great enterprises, and favored with a Government adapted to their character and condition, must command the empire of the seas, which alone is real empire.

We think, that we may claim to have inherited physical and intellectual vigor, courage, invention, and enterprise; and the systems of education prevailing among us open to all the stores of human science and art.

The old world and the past were allotted by Providence to the pupilage of mankind, under the hard discipline of arbitrary power, quelling the violence of human passions. The new world and the future seem to have been appointed for the maturity of mankind, with the development of self-government operating in obedience to reason and judgment.

We have thoroughly tried our novel system of

Democratic Federal Government, with its complex, yet harmonious and effective combination of distinct local elective agencies, for the conduct of domestic affairs, and its common central elective agencies, for the regulation of internal interests and of intercourse with foreign nations; and we know, that it is a system equally cohesive in its parts, and capable of all desirable expansion; and that it is a system, moreover, perfectly adapted to secure domestic tranquillity, while it brings into activity all the elements of national aggrandizement. The Atlantic States, through their commercial, social, and political affinities and sympathies, are steadily renovating the Governments and the social constitutions of Europe and of Africa. The Pacific States must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia. If, then, the American people shall remain an undivided nation, the ripening civilization of the West, after a separation growing wider and wider for four thousand years, will, in its circuit of the world, meet again and mingle with the declining civilization of the East on our own free soil, and a new and more perfect civilization will arise to bless the earth, under the sway of our own cherished and beneficent democratic institutions.

We may then reasonably hope for greatness, felicity, and renown, excelling any hitherto attained by any nation, if, standing firmly on the continent, we loose not our grasp on the shore of either ocean. Whether a destiny so magnificent would be only partially defeated, or whether it would be altogether lost by a relaxation of that grasp, surpasses our wisdom to determine, and happily it is not important to be determined. It is enough, if we agree that expectations so grand, yet so reasonable and so just, ought not to be in any degree disappointed.

And now it seems to me, that the perpetual unity of our empire hangs on the decision of this day and of this hour.

California is already a State, a complete and fully appointed State. She never again can be less than that. She can never again be a province or a colony; nor can she be made to shrink and shrivel into the proportions of a federal dependent Terrritory. California, then, henceforth and forever, must be, what she is now, a State.

The question whether she shall be one of the United States of America *has* depended on her and on us. Her election has been made. Our consent alone remains suspended; and that consent must be pronounced now or never. I say *now* or *never*. Nothing prevents it now, but want of agreement among ourselves. Our harmony cannot increase while this question remains open. We shall never agree to admit California, unless we agree now. Nor will California abide delay. I do not say that she contemplates independence; but, if she does not, it is because she does not anticipate rejection. Do you say that she can have no motive? Consider, then, her attitude if rejected. She needs a constitution, a legislature, and magistrates; she needs titles to that golden domain of ours within her borders; good titles, too; and you must give them on your own terms, or she must take them without your leave. She needs a mint, a custom-house, wharves, hospitals, and institutions of learning; she needs fortifications, and roads, and railroads; she needs the protection of an army and a navy; either your stars and stripes must wave over her ports and her fleets, or she must raise aloft a standard for herself; she needs, at least, to know whether you are friends or enemies; and, finally, she needs what no American community can live without, sovereignty and independence—either a just and equal share of yours, or sovereignty and independence of her own.

Will you say that California could not aggrandize herself by separation? Would it, then, be a mean ambition to set up within fifty years, on the Pacific coast, monuments like those which we think two hundred years have been well spent in establishing on the Atlantic coast?

Will you say that California has no ability to become independent? She has the same moral ability for enterprise that inheres in us, and that ability implies command of all physical means. She has advantages of position. She is practically further removed from you than England. You cannot reach her by railroad, nor by unbroken steam navigation. You can send no armies over the prairie, the mountain, and the desert, nor across the remote and narrow Isthmus within a foreign jurisdiction, nor around the Cape of Storms. You may send a navy there, but she has only to open her mines, and she can seduce your navies and appropriate your floating bulwarks to her own defence. Let her only seize your domain within her borders, and your commerce in her ports, and she will have at once revenues and credit adequate to all her necessities. Besides, are we so moderate, and has the world become so just, that we have no rivals and no enemies to lend their sympathies and aid to compass the dismemberment of our empire?

Try not the temper and fidelity of California—at least not now, not yet. Cherish her and indulge her until you have extended your settlements to her borders, and bound her fast by railroads, and canals, and telegraphs, to your interests—until her affinities of intercourse are established, and habits of loyalty are fixed—and then she can never be disengaged.

California would not go alone. Oregon, so intimately allied to her, and as yet so loosely attached to us, would go also; and then at least the entire Pacific coast, with the western declivity of the Sierra Nevada, would be lost. It would not depend at all upon us, nor even on the mere forbearance of California, how far eastward the long line across the temperate zone should be drawn, which should separate the Republic of the Pacific from the Republic of the Atlantic. Terminus has passed away with all the deities of the ancient Pantheon, but his sceptre remains. Commerce is the god of boundaries, and no man now living can foretell his ultimate decree.

But it is insisted that the admission of California shall be attended by a COMPROMISE of questions which have arisen out of SLAVERY!

I AM OPPOSED TO ANY SUCH COMPROMISE, IN ANY AND ALL THE FORMS IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN PROPOSED. Because, while admitting the purity and the patriotism of all from whom it is my misfortune to differ, I think all legislative compromises radically wrong and essentially vicious. They involve the surrender of the exercise of judgment and conscience on distinct and separate questions, at distinct and separate times, with the indispensable advantages it affords for ascertaining truth. They involve a relinquishment of the right to reconsider in future the decisions of the present, on questions prematurely anticipated. And they are a usurpation as to future questions of the province of future legislators.

Sir, it seems to me, as if slavery had laid its paralyzing hand upon myself, and the blood were coursing less freely than its wont through my veins, when I endeavor to suppose that such a compromise has been effected, and my utterance forever is arrested upon all the great questions, social, moral, and political, arising out of a subject so important, and as yet so incomprehensible. What am I to receive in this compromise? Freedom in California. It is well; it is a noble acquisition; it is worth a sacrifice. But what am I to give as an equivalent? A recognition of the claim to perpetuate slavery in the District of Columbia; forbearance towards more stringent laws concerning the arrest of persons suspected of being slaves found in the free States; forbearance from the *Proviso* of freedom in the charters of new Territories. None of the plans of compromise offered demand less than two, and most of them insist on all of these conditions. The equivalent then is, some portion of liberty, some portion of human rights in one region for liberty in another region. But California brings gold and commerce as well as freedom. I am, then, to surrender some portion of human freedom in the District of Columbia, and in East California and New Mexico, for the mixed consideration of liberty, gold, and power, on the Pacific coast.

This view of legislative compromises is not *new*. It has widely prevailed, and many of the State Constitutions interdict the introduction of more than one subject into one bill submitted for legislative action.

It was of such compromises that Burke said, in one of the loftiest bursts of even his majestic parliamentary eloquence:

"Far, far from the Commons of Great Britain be all manner of real vice; but ten thousand times farther from them, as far as from pole to pole, be the whole tribe of spurious, affected, counterfeit, and hypocritical virtues! These are the things which are ten thousand times more at war with real virtue; these are the things which are ten thousand times more at war with real duty, than any vice known by its name and distinguished by its proper character.

"Far, far from us be that false and affected candor that is eternally in treaty with crime—that half virtue, which, like the ambiguous animal that flies about in the twilight of a compromise between day and night, is, to a just man's eye, an odious and disgusting thing. There is no middle point, my Lords, in which the Commons of Great Britain can meet tyranny and oppression."

But, sir, if I could overcome my repugnance to compromises in general, I should object to this one, on the ground of the *inequality* and *incongruity* of the interests to be compromised. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted, California ought to come in, and must come in, whether slavery stands or falls in the District of Columbia; whether slavery stands or falls in New Mexico and Eastern California; and even whether slavery stands or falls in the slave States. California ought to come in, being a free State; and, under the circumstances of her conquest, her compact, her abandonment, her justifiable and necessary establishment of a Constitution, and the inevitable dismemberment of the empire consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission even if she had come as a slave State. California ought to come in, and must come in at all events. It is, then, an independent, a paramount question. What, then, are these questions arising out of slavery, thus interposed, but collateral questions? They are unnecessary and incongruous, and therefore false issues, not introduced designedly, indeed, to defeat that great policy, yet unavoidably tending to that end.

Mr. FOOTE. Will the honorable Senator allow me to ask him, if the Senate is to understand him as saying that he would vote for the admission of California if she came here seeking admission as a slave State.

Mr. SEWARD. I reply, as I said before, that even if California had come as a slave State, yet coming under the extraordinary circumstances I have described, and in view of the consequences of a dismemberment of the empire, consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission, even though she had come as a slave State. But I should not have voted for her admission otherwise.

I remark in the next place, that consent on my part would be disingenuous and fraudulent, because the compromise would be unavailing.

It is now avowed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. CALHOUN,] that nothing will satisfy the slave States but a compromise that will convince them that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety. And what are the concessions which will have that effect? Here they are, in the words of that Senator:

"The North must do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled—cease the agitation of the slave question, and provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South in substance the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government."

These terms amount to this, that the free States having already, or although they may hereafter have, majorities of States, majorities of population, and majorities in both Houses of Congress, shall concede to the slave States, being in a minority in both,

ıe unequal advantage of an equality. That is, that e shall alter the Constitution so as to convert the overnment from a national democracy, operating ' a constitutional majority of voices, into a federal liance, in which the minority shall have a veto ;ainst the majority. And this is to return to the iginal articles of confederation.

I will not stop to protest against the injustice or e inexpediency of an innovation which, if it was acticable, would be so entirely subversive of the inciple of democratic institutions. It is enough say that it is totally impracticable. The free ates, Northern and Western, acquiesced in the ıg and nearly unbroken ascendancy of the slave ates under the Constitution, because the result hapned under the Constitution. But they have honor d interests to preserve, and there is nothing in the ture of mankind or in the character of that peo- : to induce an expectation that they, loyal as they ;, are insensible to the duty of defending them. ıt the scheme would still be impracticable, even if s difficulty were overcome. What is proposed is *olitical* equilibrium. Every political equilibrium quires a physical equilibrium to rest upon, and is ueless without it. To constitute a physical equiium between the slave States and the free States, uires first, an equality of territory, or some near proximation. And this is already lost. But it reres much more than this. It requires an equality a proximate equality in the number of slaves and emen. And this must be perpetual.

But the census of 1840 gives a slave basis of only 00,000, and a free basis of 14,500,000. And the pulation on the slave basis increases in the ratio 25 per cent. for ten years, while that on the free is advances at the rate of 38 per cent. The acerating movement of the free population, now nplained of, will occupy the new Territories with neers, and every day increases the difficulty of cing or insinuating slavery into regions which emen have pre-occupied. And if this were possi the African slave trade is prohibited, and the dostic increase is not sufficient to supply the new e States which are expected to maintain the ilibrium. The theory of a new political equiium claims that it once existed, and has been . When lost, and how? It began to be lost in 7, when preliminary arrangements were made to ıit five new free States in the Northwest Terri- ', two years before the Constitution was finally pted; that is, it began to be lost two years be- : it began to exist!

ir, the equilibrium, if restored, would be lost again lost more rapidly than it was before. The progress ıe free population is to be accelerated by increased gration from Europe and Asia, while that of the es is to be checked and retarded by inevitable tial emancipation. "Nothing," says Montes- eu, "reduces a man so low as always to see free- ı, and yet not be free. Persons in that condition are ıral enemies of the State, and their numbers would be dangerous if increased too high." Sir, the fugitive slave colonies and the emancipated slave colonies in the free States, in Canada, and in Liberia, are the best guaranties South Carolina has for the perpetuity of slavery.

Nor would success attend any of the details of the compromise. And, first, I advert to the proposed alteration of the law concerning fugitives from service or labor. I shall speak on this as on all subjects, with due respect, but yet frankly and without reservation. The Constitution contains only a compact, which rests for its execution on the States. Not content with this, the slave States induced legislation by Congress; and the Supreme Court of the United States have virtually decided that the whole subject is within the province of Congress, and exclusive of State authority. Nay, they have decided that slaves are to be regarded not merely as persons to be claimed, but as property and chattels, to be seized without any legal authority or claim whatever. The compact is thus subverted by the procurement of the slave States. With what reason, then, can they expect the States *ex gratia* to reassume the obligations from which they caused those States to be discharged? I say, then, to the slave States, you are entitled to no more stringent laws; and that such laws would be useless. The cause of the inefficiency of the present statute is not at all the leniency of its provisions. It is a law that deprives the alleged refugee from a legal obligation not assumed by him, but imposed upon him by laws enacted before he was born, of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of any certain judicial process of examination of the claim set up by his pursuer, and finally degrades him into a chattel which may be seized and carried away peaceably wherever found, even although exercising the rights and responsibilities of a free citizen of the Commonwealth in which he resides, and of the United States—a law which denies to the citizen all the safeguards of personal liberty, to render less frequent the escape of the bondman. And since complaints are so freely made against the one side, I shall not hesitate to declare that there have been even greater faults on the other side. Relying on the perversion of the Constitution which makes slaves mere chattels, the slave States have applied to them the principles of the criminal law, and have held that he who aided the escape of his fellow-man from bondage was guilty of a larceny in stealing him. I speak of what I know. Two instances came within my own knowledge, in which Governors of slave States, under the provision of the Constitution relating to fugitives from justice, demanded from the Governor of a free State the surrender of persons as thieves whose alleged offences consisted in constructive larceny of the rags that covered the persons of female slaves, whose attempt at escape they permitted or assisted.

We deem the principle of the law for the recapture of fugitives, therefore, unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral; and thus while patriotism withholds its

approbation, the consciences of our people condemn it.

You will say that these convictions of ours are disloyal. Grant it for the sake of argument. They are, nevertheless, honest; and the law is to be executed among us, not among you; not by us, but by the Federal authority. Has any Government ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force? But these convictions imply no disloyalty. We reverence the Constitution, although we perceive this defect, just as we acknowledge the splendor and the power of the sun, although its surface is tarnished with here and there an opaque spot.

Your Constitution and laws convert hospitality to the refugee from the most degrading oppression on earth into a crime, but all mankind except you esteem that hospitality a virtue. The right of extradition of a fugitive from justice is not admitted by the law of nature and of nations, but rests in voluntary compacts. I know of only two compacts found in diplomatic history that admitted EXTRADITION OF SLAVES. Here is one of them. It is found in a treaty of peace made between Alexander Comnenus and Leontine, Greek Emperors at Constantinople, and Oleg, King of Russia, in the year 902, and is in these words:

"If a Russian slave take flight, or even if he is carried away by any one under pretence of having been bought, his master shall have the right and power to pursue him, and hunt for and capture him wherever he shall be found; and any person who shall oppose the master in the execution of this right shall be deemed guilty of violating this treaty, and be punished accordingly."

This was in the year of Grace 902, in the period called the "Dark Ages," and the contracting Powers were despotisms. And here is the other:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up. on claim of the party to whom such service or labor is due."

This is from the Constitution of the United States in 1787, and the parties were the republican States of this Union. The law of nations disavows such compacts; the law of nature, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. Armed power could not enforce them, because there is no public conscience to sustain them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes, codes mercantile and codes civil; but when we are legislating for States, especially when we are founding States, all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it. This principle was happily explained by one of the most distinguished political philosophers of England in these emphatic words:

"There is but one law for all, namely, that law which governs all law, the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, justice, equity, the law of nature and of nations. So far as any laws fortify this primeval law, and give it more precision, more energy, more effect, by their declarations, such laws enter into the sanctuary and participate in the sacredness of its character; but the man who quotes as precedents the abuses of tyrants and robbers, pollutes the very fountains of justice, destroys the foundations of al law, and therefore removes the only safeguard against evi men, whether governors or governed; the guard which prevents governors from becoming tyrants, and the governed from becoming rebels."

There was deep philosophy in the confession of an eminent English judge. When he had condemned a young woman to death, under the late sanguinary code of his country, for her first petty theft, she fell down dead at his feet: "I seem to myself, said he to have been pronouncing sentence, not against the prisoner, but against the law itself."

To conclude on this point. We are not slaveholders. We cannot, in our judgment, be either true Christians or real freemen, if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves You believe and think otherwise, and doubtlessly with equal sincerity. We judge you not, and He alone who ordained the conscience of man and its laws of action can judge us. Do we, then, in this conflict, demand of you an unreasonable thing in asking that, since you will have property that can and will exercise human powers to effect its escape you shall be your own police, and in acting among us as such you shall conform to principles indispensable to the security of admitted rights of freemen? If you will have this law executed, you must alleviate, not increase, its rigors.

Another feature in most of these plans of compromise is a bill of peace for slavery in the District of Columbia; and this bill of peace we cannot grant. We of the free States are, equally with you of the slave States, responsible for the existence of slavery in this District, the field exclusively of our common legislation. I regret that, as yet, I see little reason to hope that a majority in favor of emancipation exists here The Legislature of New York, from whom, with great deference, I dissent, seems willing to accept now the extinction of the slave trade, and waive emancipation. But we shall assume the whole responsibility if we stipulate not to exercise the power hereafter when a majority shall be obtained. Nor will the plea with which you would furnish us be of any avail. If I could understand so mysterious a paradox myself I never should be able to explain to the apprehension of the people whom I represent how it was that an absolute and express power to legislate in all cases over the District of Columbia was embarrassed and defeated by an implied condition not to legislate for the abolition of slavery in this District. Sir, I shall vote for that measure, and am willing to appropriate any means necessary to carry it into execution And, if I shall be asked what I did to embellish the capital of my country, I will point to her freedmen and say, these are the monuments of my munificence!

If I was willing to advance a cause that I deem sacred by disingenuous means, I would advise you to adopt those means of compromise which I have thus examined. The echo is not quicker in its response than would be that loud and universal cry of repeal, that would not die away until the habeas

was secured to the alleged fugitive from bond-
d the symmetry of the free institutions of the
was perfected.

ly the same observations to the proposition
aiver of the Proviso of Freedom in Territorial
s. Thus far you have only direct popular ac-
favor of that Ordinance, and there seems even
partial disposition to await the action of the
of the new Territories, as we have compul-
vaited for it in California. But I must tell
vertheless, in candor and in plainness, that
it of the people of the free States is set upon
g that rises with the pressure put upon it.
ring, if pressed too hard, will give a recoil
ll not leave here one servant who knew his
s will, and did it not.

will say that this implies violence. Not at
implies only peaceful, lawful, constitutional,
ary action. I cannot too strongly express my
that those who insist that the people of the
tates cannot be held back from remedies out-
the Constitution, should so far misunderstand
e free States as to suppose we would not ex-
ur constitutional rights to sustain the policy
we deem just and beneficent.

ne now to notice the suggested *compromise of
ndary between Texas and New Mexico.* This
icial question in its nature, or at least a ques-
legal right and title. If it is to be compro-
t all, it is due to the two parties, and to na-
dignity as well as to justice, that it be kept
e from compromises proceeding on the ground
diency, and be settled by itself alone.

e this occasion to say, that while I do not in-
discuss the questions alluded to in this con-
by the honorable and distinguished Senator
assachusetts, I am not able to agree with him
d to the alleged obligation of Congress to ad-
r new slave States, to be formed in the State
s. There are several questions arising out of
ject, upon which I am not prepared to decide
d which I desire to reserve for future consid-
One of these is, whether the Article of An-
n does really deprive Congress of the right to
e its choice in regard to the subdivision of
nto four additional States. It seems to me
eans so plain a question as the Senator from
husetts assumed, and that it must be left to
an open question, as it is a great question,
r Congress is not a party whose future con-
necessary to the formation of new States out
s.

WEBSTER. Supposing Congress to have
hority to fix the number, and time of election,
portionment of representatives, &c., the ques-
whether, if new States are formed out of
to come into this Union, there is not a solemn
by law that they have a right to come in as
tates?

SEWARD. When the States are once form-
y have the right to come in as free or slave
States, according to their own choice; but what I
insist is, that they cannot be formed at all without
the consent of Congress, to be hereafter given, which
consent Congress is not obliged to give. But I pass
that question for the present, and proceed to say that
I am not prepared to admit that the Article of the
Annexation of Texas is itself constitutional. I find
no authority in the Constitution of the United States
for the annexation of foreign countries by a resolu-
tion of Congress, and no power adequate to that pur-
pose but the treaty-making power of the President
and the Senate. Entertaining this view, I must in-
sist that the coustitutionality of the annexation of
Texas herself shall be cleared up before I can agree
to the admission of any new States to be formed
within Texas.

Mr. FOOTE. Did not I hear the Senator observe
that he would admit California, whether slavery was
or was not precluded from these Territories?

Mr. SEWARD. I said I would have voted for the
admission of California even as a slave State, under
the extraordinary circumstances which I have before
distinctly described. I say that now; but I say also,
that before I would agree to admit any more States
from Texas, the circumstances which render such
act necessary must be shown, and must be such as
to determine my obligation to do so; and that is
precisely what I insist cannot be settled now. It
must be left for those to whom the responsibility will
belong.

Mr. President, I understand, and I am happy in
understanding, that I agree with the honorable Sen-
ator from Massachusetts, that there is no obligation
upon Congress to admit four new slave States out of
Texas, but that Congress has reserved her right to
say whether those States shall be formed and admit-
ted or not. I shall rely on that reservation. I shall
vote to admit no more slave States, unless under cir-
cumstances absolutely compulsory.

Mr. WEBSTER. What I said was, that if the
States hereafter to be made out of Texas choose to
come in as slave States, they have a right so to do.

Mr. SEWARD. My position is, that they have
not a right to come in at all, if Congress rejects their
institutions. The subdivision of Texas is a matter
optional with both parties, Texas and the United
States.

Mr. WEBSTER. Does the honorable Senator
mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide
whether they shall be slave or free States?

Mr. SEWARD. I mean to say that Congress can
hereafter decide whether any States, slave or free,
can be framed out of Texas. If they should never be
framed out of Texas, they never could be admitted.

*Another objection arises out of the principle on which
the demand for compromise rests.* That principle
assumes a classification of the States as North-
ern and Southern States, as it is expressed by the
honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] but into slave States and free States, as more
directly expressed by the honorable Senator from

Georgia, [Mr. Berrien.] The argument is, that the States are severally equal, and that these two classes were equal at the first, and that the Constitution was founded on that equilibrium. That the States being equal, and the classes of the States being equal in rights, they are to be regarded as constituting an association in which each State, and each of these classes of States, respectively, contribute in due proportions. That the new Territories are a common acquisition, and the people of these several States and classes of States have an equal right to participate in them, respectively. That the right of the people of the slave States to emigrate to the Territories with their slaves as property is necessary to afford such a participation on their part, inasmuch as the people of the free States emigrate into the same Territories with their property. And the argument deduces from this right the principle that, if Congress exclude slavery from any part of this new domain, it would be only just to set off a portion of the domain—some say south of 36 deg. 30 min., others south of 34 deg.—which should be regarded at least as free to slavery, and to be organized into slave States.

Argument ingenious and subtle, declamation earnest and bold, and persuasion gentle and winning as the voice of the turtle dove when it is heard in the land, all alike and altogether have failed to convince me of the soundness of this principle of the proposed compromise, or of any one of the propositions on which it is attempted to be established.

How is the original equality of the States proved? It rests on a syllogism of Vattel, as follows: All men are equal by the law of nature and of nations. But States are only lawful aggregations of individual men, who severally are equal. Therefore, States are equa in natural rights. All this is just and sound. But assuming the same premises, to wit, that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is equal to another cannot be the owner or property of that other. But you answer, that the Constitution recognises property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this constitutional recognition must be void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations. But I deny that the Constitution recognises property in man. I submit, on the other hand, most respectfully, that the Constitution not merely does not affirm that principle, but, on the contrary, altogether excludes it.

The Constitution does not *expressly* affirm anything on the subject; all that it contains is two incidental allusions to slaves. These are, first, in the provision establishing a ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, in the provision relating to fugitives from labor. In both cases the Constitution designedly mentions slaves, not as slaves, much less as chattels, but as *persons*. That this recognition of them as persons was designed is historically known, and I think was never denied. I give only two of the manifold proofs. First, John Jay in the Federalist, says:

"Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is i truth, a peculiar one. Let the compromising expedient o the Constitution be mutually adopted which regards them as *inhabitants*. but as debased below the equal level of fre inhabitants, which regards the slave as divested of two fifths of the man."

Yes, sir, of two fifths, but of only two-fifths leaving still three-fifths; leaving the slave still a *inhabitant*, a person, a living, breathing, moving reasoning, immortal man.

The other proof is from the Debates in the Con vention. It is brief, and I think instructive:

"*August* 28, 1787.—Mr. Butler and Mr. Pinckney mov ed to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivere up like convicts.

"Mr. Wilson. This would oblige the Executive of th State to do it at public expense.

"Mr. Sherman saw no more propriety in the publi seizing and surrendering a slave or a servant than a horse

"Mr. Butler withdrew his proposition, in order tha some particular provision might be made apart from thi article.

"*August* 29.—Mr. Butler moved to insert after articl 15: 'If any person bound to service or labor in any of th United States shall escape into another State, he or sh shall not be discharged from such service or labor in con sequence of any regulation subsisting in the State to whic they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justl claiming their service or labor.'"

"After the engrossment, September 15, page 550, articl 4, section 2, the 3d paragraph, the term 'legally' wa struck out, and the words 'under the laws thereof' inser ed after the word 'State,' in compliance with the wishes some who thought the term 'legal' equivocal, and favorin the idea that slavery was legal in a *moral view*."—*Madiso Debates, pp.* 487, 492.

I deem it established, then, that the Constitutio does not recognise property in man, but leaves tha question, as between the States, to the law of natu and of nations. That law, as expounded by Vatte is founded in the reason of things. When God ha created the earth, with its wonderful adaptations, h gave dominion over it to man, absolute human do minion. The title of that dominion thus bestowe would have been incomplete, if the Lord of all te restrial things could himself have been the propert of his fellow-man.

The right to *have* a slave implies the right in som one to *make* the slave; that right must be equal an mutual, and this would resolve society into a state perpetual war. But if we grant the original equa ity of the States, and grant also the constitutional r cognition of slaves as property, still the argume we are considering fails. Because the States are n parties to the Constitution as States; it is the Co stitution of the People of the United States.

But even if the States continue as States, the surrendered their equality as States, and submitte themselves to the sway of the numerical majorit with qualifications or checks; first, of the represe tation of three-fifths of slaves in the ratio of repr sentation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equ representation of States in the Senate.

The proposition of an established classification States as *slave States* and *free States* as insisted o by some, and into *Northern* and *Southern* as mai tained by others, seems to me purely imaginary, an of course the supposed equilibrium of those class

conceit. This must be so, because when the ution was adopted twelve of the thirteen were slave States, and so there was no equi- . And so as to the classification of States as rn States and Southern States. It is the nance of slavery by law in a State, not paral- latidude, that makes it a Southern State; absence of this that makes it a Northern And so all the States save one were South- tes, and there was no equilibrium. But the ution was made not only for Southern and rn States, but for States neither Northern uthern—the Western States, their coming in oreseen and provided for.

eds little argument to show that the idea of a ock association, or a copartnership, as appli- ven by its analogies to the United States, is us, with all the consequences fancifully de- rom it. The United States are a political organized society, whose end is government, security, welfare, and happiness of all who der its protection. The theory I am combat- uces the objects of government to the mere of conquest. Contrary to a theory so de- the preamble of the Constitution not only the sovereignty to be, not in the States, but in ple, but also promulgates the objects of the ution:

the people of the United States, in order to form a *ore perfect union*, establish *justice*, insure *domestic lity*, provide for the *common defence*, promote the WELFARE, and secure the *blessings of liberty*, do d establish this Constitution."

ts sublime and benevolent! They exclude y idea of conquests, to be either divided States or even enjoyed by them, for the of securing, not the blessings of liberty, evils of slavery. There is a novelty in nciple of the compromise which condemns multaneously with the establishment of the ution, Virginia ceded to the United States main, which then extended to the Mississip- was even claimed to extend to the Pacific Congress accepted it, and unanimously de- he domain to freedom, in the language from the Ordinance now so severely condemned rrowed. Five States have already been or- on this domain, from all of which, in pur- of that Ordinance, slavery is excluded. How happen that this theory of the equality of of the classification of States, of the equi- of States, of the title of the States to com- njoyment of the domain, or to an equitable t partition between them, was never promul- nor even dreamed of by the slave States when nanimously consented to that Ordinance?

e is another aspect of the principle of com- e which deserves consideration. It assumes avery, if not the only institution in a slave is at least a ruling institution, and that this eristic is recognised by the Constitution. *very* is only *one* of many institutions there. m is equally an institution there. Slavery is temporary, accidental, partial, and incongru- e. Freedom, on the contrary, is a perpetual, , universal one, in harmony with the Consti- of the United States. The slaveholder him- nds under the protection of the latter in com- ith all the free citizens of the State. But it eover, an indispensable institution. You may e slavery from South Carolina, and the State ll remain; but if you subvert freedom there, te will cease to exist. But the principle of this mise gives complete ascendency in the slave nd in the Constitution of the United States, ubordinate, accidental, and incongruous in- n over its paramount antagonist. To reduce this claim for slavery to an absurdity, it is only necessary to add that there are only two States in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which the slaveholders are not a very disproportionate minority.

But there is yet another aspect in which this principle must be examined. It regards the domain only as a possession, to be enjoyed either in common or by partition by the citizens of the old States. It is true, indeed, that the national domain is ours. It is true it was acquired by the valor and with the wealth of the whole nation. But we hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold no arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the Universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness. How momentous that trust is, we may learn from the instructions of the founder of modern philosophy:

"No man," says Bacon, "can by care-taking, as the Scripture saith, add a cubit to his stature in this little model of a man's body; but, in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For, by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as are wise, they may sow greatness to their posterity and successors. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance."

This is a State, and we are deliberating for it, just as our fathers deliberated in establishing the institutions we enjoy. Whatever superiority there is in our condition and hopes over those of any other "kingdom" or "estate" is due to the fortunate circumstance that our ancestors did not leave things to "take their chance," but that they "added amplitude and greatness" to our commonwealth "by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as were wise." We in our turn have succeeded to the same responsibilities, and we cannot approach the duty before us wisely or justly, except we raise ourselves to the great consideration of how we can most certainly "sow greatness to our posterity and successors."

And now the simple, bold, and even awful question which presents itself to us is this: Shall we, who are founding institutions, social and political, for countless millions; shall we, who know by experience the wise and the just, and are free to choose them, and to reject the erroneous and unjust; shall we establish human bondage, or permit it by our sufferance to be established? Sir, our forefathers would not have hesitated an hour. They found slavery existing here, and they left it only because they could not remove it. There is not only no free State which would now establish it, but there is no slave State, which, if it had had the free alternative as we now have, would have founded slavery. Indeed, our revolutionary predecessors had precisely the same question before them in establishing an organic law under which the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have since come into the Union, and they solemnly repudiated and excluded slavery from those States forever. I confess that the most alarming evidence of our degeneracy which has yet been given is found in the fact that we even debate such a question.

Sir, there is no Christian nation thus free to choose as we are, which would establish slavery. I speak on due consideration, because Britain, France, and Mexico,

have abolished slavery, and all other European States are preparing to abolish it as speedily as they can. We cannot establish slavery, because there are certain elements of the security, welfare, and greatness of nations, which we all admit or ought to admit, and recognise as essential, and these are the security of natural rights, the diffusion of knowledge, and the freedom of industry. Slavery is incompatible with all of these, and just in proportion to the extent that it prevails and controls in any republican State, just to that extent it subverts the principle of democracy, and converts the State into an aristocracy or a despotism. I will not offend sensibilities by drawing my proofs from the slave States existing among ourselves. But I will draw them from the greatest of the Europeon slave States.

The population of Russia in Europe, in 1844, was	54,251,000
Of these were serfs	53,500,000
The residue nobles, clergy, and merchants, &c.	751,000

The Imperial Government abandons the control over the fifty-three and a half millions to their owners, and these owners, included in the 751,000, are thus a privileged class, or aristocracy. If ever the Government interferes at all with the serfs, who are the only laboring population, it is by edicts designed to abridge their opportunities of education, and thus continue their debasement. What was the origin of this system? Conquest, in which the captivity of the conquered was made perpetual and hereditary. This, it seems to me, is identical with American slavery, only at one and the same time exaggerated by the greater disproportion between the privileged classes and the slaves in their respective numbers, and yet relieved of the unhappiest feature of American slavery, the distinction of castes. What but this renders Russia at once the most arbitrary despotism and the most barbarous State in Europe? And what is its effect, but industry comparatively profitless, and sedition, not occasional and partial, but chronic and pervading the Empire. I speak of slavery not in the language of fancy, but in the language of philosophy. Montesquieu remarked upon the proposition to introduce slavery into France, that the demand for slavery was the demand of luxury and corruption, and not the demand of patriotism. Of all slavery, African slavery is the worst, for it combines practically the features of what is distinguished as real slavery or serfdom with the personal slavery known in the Oriental world. Its domestic features lead to vice, while its political features render it injurious and dangerous to the State.

I cannot stop to debate long with those who maintain that slavery is itself practically economical and humane. I might be content with saying that there are some axioms in political science that a statesman or a founder of States may adopt, especially in the Congress of the United States, and that among those axioms are these: That all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the choice of pursuits of happiness. That knowledge promotes virtue, and righteousness exalteth a nation. That freedom is preferable to slavery, and that democratic governments, where they can be maintained by acquiescence, without force, are preferable to institutions exercising arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It remains only to remark that our own experience has proved the dangerous influence and tendency of slavery. All our apprehensions of dangers, present and future, begin and end with slavery. If slavery, limited as it yet is, now threatens to subvert the Constitution, how can we, as wise and prudent statesmen, enlarge its boundaries and increase its influence, and thus increase already impen dangers? Whether, then, I regard merely the fare of the future inhabitants of the new Territo or the security and welfare of the whole peop the United States, or the welfare of the whole ily of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce very into any part of this continent which is nov empt from what seems to me so great an evil. T are my reasons for declining to compromise question relating to slavery as a condition of th mission of California.

In acting upon an occasion so grave as this, a spectful consideration is due to the argum founded on extraneous considerations, of Sen who commend a course different from that wh have preferred. The first of these argument that Congress has no power to legislate on the ject of slavery within the Territories.

Sir, Congress *may* admit new States; and s Congress may admit, it follows that Congress *reject* new States. The discretion of Congre admitting is absolute, except that, when admi the State must be a republican State, and mu a STATE: that is, it shall have the constituti form and powers of a State. But the greate cludes the less, and therefore Congress may im *conditions* of admission not inconsistent with t fundamental powers and forms. Boundaries such. The reservation of the public domai such. The right to divide is such. The Ordin excluding slavery is such a condition. The org zation of a Territory is ancillary or prelimin it is the inchoate, the *initiative* act of admission, is performed under the clause granting the po necessary to execute the express powers of the stitution.

This power comes from the treaty-making p also, and I think it well traced to the powe make needful rules and regulations concerning public domain. But this question is not a mat one now; the power is here to be exercised. question now is, How is it to be exercised? whether we shall exercise it at all, however deri And the right to regulate property, to administer tice in regard to *property, is assumed* in every T torial charter. If we have the power to legi concerning property, we have the power to legi concerning personal rights. Freedom is a *pers* right; and Congress, being the supreme legisla has the same right in regard to property and per al rights in Territories that the States would ha organized.

The next of this class of arguments is, that inhibition of slavery in the new Territories is *u cessary;* and when I come to this question, I counter the loss of many who lead in favor of mitting California. I had hoped, some time that upon the vastly important question of inh ing slavery in the new Territories, we sh have had the aid especially of the distinguished ator from Missouri, [MR. BENTON,] and when he nounced his opposition to that measure I was duced to exclaim—

> Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
> An ideo, tantum. veneras ut exires?

But, sir, I have no right to complain. The S tor is crowning a life of eminent public service heroic and magnanimous act in bringing Califo into the Union. Grateful to him for this, I leav to himself to determine how far consideration human freedom shall govern the course whic thinks proper to pursue.

The argument is, that the *Proviso is unnecess* I answer, there, then, can be no error in insis upon it. But why is it unnecessary? It is s *first*, by reason of *climate*. I answer, if this be why do not the representatives of the slave St

e Proviso? They deny that the climate pre-
ntroduction of slavery. Then I will leave
a contingency. But, in truth, I think the
argument is against the proposition. Is
climate where slavery has not existed? It
led all over Europe, from sunny Italy to
and, and is existing now, stronger than in
land, in ice-bound Russia. But it will be
at this is not African slavery. I rejoin,
makes the case the stronger. If this vigor-
race of ours was reduced to slavery while
the courage of semi-barbarism in its own
ern latitude, what security does climate
nst the transplantation of the more gentle,
e, and already enslaved and debased Afri-
genial climate of New Mexico and Eastern
?

e is no climate uncongenial to slavery. It
is less productive than free labor in many
ountries. But so it is less productive than
labor in even tropical climates. Labor is
quick in all new countries. Slave labor
than free labor, and it would go first into
ns; and wherever it goes it brings labor
nor, and therefore free white labor avoids
n with it. Sir, I might rely on climate if
been born in a land where slavery existed;
nd was all of it north of the 40th parallel
; and if I did not know the struggle it has
which is yet going on, to get complete
n the institution and its baleful conse-
I desire to propound this question to those
ow in favor of dispensing with the Wilmot
Was the Ordinance of 1787 necessary or
cessary, we all agree. It has received too
giums to be now decried as an idle and
s thing. And yet that Ordinance extend-
ibition of slavery from the 37th to the 40th
' north latirude. And now we are told
hibition named is unnecessary anywhere
6 degrees 30 minutes! We are told that we
upon the laws of God, which prohibit slave
of that line, and that it is absurd to re-
laws of God. Sir, there is no human
which is just that is not a re-enactment
of God. The Constitution of the United
the Constitutions of all the States are full
enactments. Wherever I find a law of God
' nature disregarded, or in danger of being
d, there I shall vote to reaffirm it, with all
on of the civil authority. But I find no
for the position that climate prevents sla-
here. It is the indolence of mankind in
e, and not the natural necessity, that in-
lavery in any climate.

well only very briefly on the argument de-
the Mexican laws. The proposition, that
must remain in force until altered by laws
, is satisfactory; and so is the proposition
Mexican laws abolished and continue to
avery. And still I deem an enactment by
wise and even necessary. Both of the
ns I have stated are denied with just as
fidence by Southern statesmen and jurists
e affirmed by those of the free States. The
of the new Territories is rapidly becom-
nerican one, to whom the Mexican code
a foreign one, entitled to little deference or

has never obtained anywhere by express
authority, but always by trampling down
er than any mere municipal laws—the laws
and of nations. There can be no oppres-
peradding the sanction of Congress to the
which is so weak and so vehemently ques-
And there is some possibility, if not a prob-
at the institution may obtain a foothold
surreptitiously, if it should not be absolutely forbidden by our own authority.

What is insisted upon, therefore, is not a mere abstraction or a mere sentiment, as is contended by those why waive the Proviso. And what is conclusive on the subject is, that it is conceded on all hands that the effect of insisting on it prevents the intrusion of slavery into the region to which it is proposed to apply it.

It is insisted that the diffusion of slavery will not increase its evils. The argument seems to me merely specious and quite unsound. I desire to propose one or two questions in reply to it. Is slavery stronger or weaker in these United States, from its diffusion into Missouri? Is slavery weaker or stronger in these United States, from the exclusion of it from the Northwest Territory? The answers to these questions will settle the whole controversy.

And this brings me to the great and all-absorbing argument that the Union is in danger of being dissolved, and that it can only be saved by compromise. I do not know what I would not do to save the Union; and therefore I shall bestow upon this subject a very deliberate consideration.

I do not overlook the fact that the entire delegation from the slave States, although they differ in regard to the details of compromise proposed, and perhaps in regard to the exact circumstances of the crisis, seem to concur in this momentous warning. Nor do I doubt at all the patriotic devotion to the Union which is expressed by those from whom this warning proceeds. And yet, sir, although such warnings have been uttered with impassioned solemnity in my hearing every day for near three months, my confidence in the Union remains unshaken. I think they are to be received with no inconsiderable distrust, because they are uttered under the influence of a controlling interest to be secured, a paramount object to be gained; and that is an equilibrium of power in the Republic. I think they are to be received with even more distrust, because, with the most profound respect, they are uttered under an obviously high excitement. Nor is that excitement an unnatural one. It is a law of our nature that the passions disturb the reason and judgment just in proportion to the importance of the occasion, and the consequent necessity for calmness and candor. I think they are to be distrusted, because there is a diversity of opinion in regard to the nature and operation of this excitement. The Senators from some States say that it has brought all parties in their own region into unanimity. The honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CLAY] says that the danger lies in the violence of party spirit, and refers us for proof to the difficulties which attended the organization of the House of Representatives.

Sir, in my humble judgment, it is not the fierce conflict of parties that we are seeing and hearing; but, on the contrary, it is the agony of distracted parties—a convulsion resulting from the too narrow foundations of both and of all parties—foundations laid in compromises of natural justice and of human liberty. A question, a moral question, transcending the too narrow creeds of parties, has arisen: the public conscience expands with it, and the green withes of party associations give way and break, and fall off from it. No, sir; it is not the State that is dying of the fever of party spirit. It is merely a paralysis of parties, premonitory however of their restoration, with new elements of health and vigor to be imbibed from that spirit of the age which is so justly called Progress.

Nor is the evil that of unlicensed, irregular, and turbulent faction. We are told that twenty Legislatures are in session, burning like furnaces, heating and inflaming the popular passions. But these twenty Legislatures are constitutional furnaces.

They are performing their customary functions, imparting healthful heat and vitality while within their constitutional jurisdiction. If they rage beyond its limits, the popular passions of this country are not at all, I think, in danger of being inflamed to excess. No, sir; let none of these fires be extinguished. Forever let them burn and blaze. They are neither ominous meteors nor baleful comets, but planets; and bright and intense as their heat may be, it is their native temperature, and they must still obey the law which, by attraction toward this solar centre, holds them in their spheres.

I see nothing of that conflict between the Southern and Northern States, or between their representative bodies, which seems to be on all sides of me assumed. Not a word of menace, not a word of anger, not an intemperate word, has been uttered in the Northern Legislatures. They firmly but calmly assert their convictions; but at the same time they assert their unqualified consent to submit to the common arbiter, and for weal or wo abide the fortunes of the Union.

What if there be less of moderation in the Legislatures of the South? It only indicates on which side the balance is inclining, and that the decision of the momentous question is near at hand. I agree with those who say that there can be no peaceful dissolution—no dissolution of the Union by the secession of States; but that disunion, dissolution, happen when it may, will and must be revolution. I discover no omens of revolution. The predictions of the political astrologers do not agree as to the time or manner in which it is to occur. According to the authority of the honorable Senator from Alabama, [Mr. CLEMENS,] the event has already happened, and the Union is now in ruins. According to the honorable and distinguished Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. CALHOUN,] it is not to be immediate, but to be developed by time.

What are the omens to which our attention is directed? I see nothing but a broad difference of opinion here, and the excitement consequent upon it.

I have observed that revolutions which begin in the palace seldom go beyond the palace walls, and they affect only the dynasty which reigns there. This revolution, if I understand it, began in this Senate chamber a year ago, when the representatives from the Southern States assembled here and addressed their constituents on what were called the aggressions of the Northern States. No revolution was designed at that time, and all that has happened since is the return to Congress of legislative resolutions, which seem to me to be conventional responses to the address which emanated from the Capitol.

Sir, in any condition of society there can be no revolution without a cause, an adequate cause. What cause exists here? We are admitting a new State; but there is nothing new in that: we have already admitted seventeen before. But it is said that the slave States are in danger of losing political power by the admission of the new State. Well, sir, is there anything new in that? The slave States have always been losing political power, and they always will be while they have any to lose. At first, twelve of the thirteen States were slave States; now only fifteen out of the thirty are slave States. Moreover, the change is constitutionally made, and the Government was constructed so as to permit changes of the balance of power, in obedience to changes of the forces of the body politic. Danton used to say, "It's all well while the people cry Danton and Robespierre; but wo for me if ever the people learn to say, Robespierre and Danton!" That is all of it, sir. The people have been accustomed to say, the South and the North; they are only beginning now to say, the North and the South.

Sir, those who would alarm us with the terr
revolution have not well considered the structu
this Government, and the organization of its fo
It is a Democracy of property and persons, w
fair approximation towards universal education
operating by means of universal suffrage. The
stituent members of this Democracy are the
persons who could subvert it; and they are no
citizens of a metropolis like Paris, or of a region
jected to the influences of a metropolis like Fra
but they are husbandmen, dispersed over this
land, on the mountain and on the plain, and o
prairie, from the ocean to the Rocky Moun
and from the great Lakes to the Gulf; and this
ple are now, while we are discussing their imag
danger, at peace and in their happy homes, a
unconcerned and uninformed of their peril as
are of events occurring in the moon. Nor hav
alarmists made due allowance in their calcula
for the influence of conservative reaction, stro
any Government, and irresistible in a rural Rep
operating by universal suffrage. That princi
reaction is due to the force of the habits of acq
cence and loyalty among the people. No man
ter understood this principle than MACHIAV
who has told us, in regard to factions, that "n
reliance can be placed in the force of nature an
bravery of words, except it be corroborated b
tom." Do the alarmists remember that this Go
ment has stood sixty years already without exa
one drop of blood? that this Government has
sixty years, and treason is an obsolete crime?
day, I trust, is far off when the fountains of po
contentment shall be broken up; but. whene
shall come, it will bring forth a higher illust
than has ever yet been given of the excellen
the Democratic system; for then it will be
how calmly, how firmly, how nobly, a great
ple can act in preserving their Constitution:
"love of country moveth, example teacheth,
pany comforteth, emulation quickeneth, and
exalteth."

When the founders of the new Republic
South come to draw over the face of this e
along or between its parallels of latitude or
tude, their ominous lines of dismemberment, so
be broadly and deeply shaded with fraternal
they may come to the discovery then, if not b
that the natural and even the political conne
of the region embraced forbid such a partition
its possible divisions are not Northern and Sou
at all, but Eastern and Western, Atlantic and
cific; and that Nature and Commerce have
indissolubly for weal and wo the seceders and
from whom they are to be separated; that,
they would rush into a civil war to restore an i
nary equilibrium between the Northern State
the Southern States, a new equilibrium has tak
place, in which all those States are on the one
and the boundless West is on the other.

Sir, when the founders of the new Republic
South come to draw those fearful lines, they w
dicate what portions of the continent are to be
ken off from their connection with the Atl
through the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the
ware, the Potomac, and the Mississippi; what
tion of this people are to be denied the use o
lakes, the railroads, and the canals, now c
tuting common and customary avenues of t
trade, and social intercourse; what families and
dred are to be separated, and converted into ene
and what States are to be the scenes of per
border warfare, aggravated by interminable h
of servile insurrection. When those portentous
shall be drawn, they will disclose what porti
this people is to retain the army and the navy
the flag of so many victories; and, on the

ınd, what portion of the people is to be subjected new and ominous imposts, direct taxes, and forc- loans, and conscriptions, to maintain an opposing my, an opposing navy, and the new and hateful nner of sedition. Then the projectors of the new epublic of the South will meet the question—and ey may well prepare now to answer it—What is this for? What intolerable wrong, what unfra- rnal injustice, have rendered these calamities un- oidable? What gain will this unnatural revolution ing to us? The answer will be: All this is done secure the institution of African slavery.

And then, if not before, the question will be dis- ssed, What is this institution of slavery, that it ould cause these unparalleled sacrifices and these sastrous afflictions? And this will be the answer: hen the Spaniards, few in number, discovered the estern Indies and adjacent continental Ameri- , they needed labor to draw forth from its virgin ores some speedy return to the cupidity of the urt and the bankers of Madrid. They enslaved e indolent, inoffensive, and confiding natives, who rished by thousands, and even by millions, under at new and unnatural bondage. A humane eccle- stic advised the substitution of Africans reduced captivity in their native wars, and a pious princess opted the suggestion, with a dispensation from the ad of the church, granted on the ground of the escriptive right of the Christian to enslave the athen, to effect his conversion. The colonists of orth America, innocent in their unconsciousness wrong, encouraged the slave traffic, and thus the oor of subduing their territory devolved chiefly on the African race. A happy conjuncture ought on an awakening of the conscience of man- nd to the injustice of slavery, simultaneously th the independence of the Colonies. Massachu- ts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, rmont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylva- , welcomed and embraced the spirit of universal ancipation. Renouncing luxury, they secured luence and empire. But the States of the South, sled by a new and profitable culture, elected to intain and perpetuate slavery, and thus, choos- luxury, they lost power and empire.

When this answer shall be given, it will appear that question of dissolving the Union is a complex estion; that it embraces the fearful issue whether Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, aceful action of moral, social, and political causes, removed by gradual, voluntary effort, and with mpensation, or whether the Union shall be dis- ved, and civil wars ensue, bringing on violent but nplete and immediate emancipation. We are now ived at that stage of our national progress when t crisis can be foreseen, when we must foresee it. s directly before us. Its shadow is upon us. It kens the legislative halls, the temples of worship, l the home and the hearth. Every question, po- cal, civil, or ecclesiastical, however foreign to the ject of slavery, brings up slavery as an incident, l the incident supplants the principal question. hear of nothing but slavery, and we can talk of hing but slavery. And now, it seems to me that our difficulties, embarrassments, and dangers, se, not out of unlawful perversions of the ques- n of slavery, as some suppose, but from the want moral courage to meet this question of emancipa- n as we ought. Consequently, we hear on one e demands—absurd, indeed, but yet unceasing— an immediate and unconditional abolition of sla- y, as if any power, except the people of the slave tes, could abolish it, and as if they could be moved abolish it by merely sounding the trumpet vio- tly and proclaiming emancipation, while the in- ution is interwoven with all their social and itical interests, constitutions, and customs.

On the other hand, our statesmen say that "slavery has always existed, and, for aught they know or can do, it always must exist. God permitted it, and he alone can indicate the way to remove it." As if the Supreme Creator, after giving us the instructions of his providence and revelation for the illumination of our minds and consciences, did not leave us, in all human transactions, with due invocations of his Holy Spirit, to seek out his will and execute it for ourselves.

Here, then, is the point of my separation from both of these parties. I feel assured that slavery must give way, and will give way, to the salutary instructions of economy, and to the ripening influences of humanity; that emancipation is inevitable, and is near; that it may be hastened or hindered; and that whether it be peaceful or violent, depends upon the question whether it be hastened or hindered; that all measures which fortify slavery or extend it, tend to the consummation of violence; all that check its extension and abate its strength, tend to its peaceful extirpation. But I will adopt none but lawful, constitutional, and peaceful means, to secure even that end; and none such can I or will I forego. Nor do I know any important or responsible body that proposes to do more than this. No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. None claims that Congress shall usurp power to abolish slavery in the slave States. None claims that any violent, unconstitutional, or unlawful measure shall be embraced. And, on the other hand, if we offer no scheme or plan for the adoption of the slave States, with the assent and co-operation of Congress, it is only because the slave States are unwilling as yet to receive such suggestions, or even to entertain the question of emancipation in any form.

But, sir, I will take this occasion to say that, while I cannot agree with the honorable Senator from Massachusetts in proposing to devote eighty millions of dollars to remove the free colored population from the slave States, and thus, as it appears to me, fortify slavery, there is no reasonable limit to which I am not willing to go in applying the national treasures to effect the peaceful, voluntary removal of slavery itself.

I have thus endeavored to show that there is not now, and there is net likely to occur, any adequate cause for revolution in regard to slavery. But you reply that, nevertheless, you must have guaranties; and the first one is for the surrender of fugitives from labor. That guaranty you cannot have, as I have already shown, because you cannot roll back the tide of social progress. You must be content with what you have. If you wage war against us, you can, at most, only conquer us, and then all you can get will be a treaty, and that you have already.

But you insist on a guaranty against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or war. Well, when you shall have declared war against us, what shall hinder us from immediately decreeing that slavery shall cease within the national capital?

You say that you will not submit to the exclusion of slaves from the new Territories. What will you gain by resistance? Liberty follows the sword, although her sway is one of peace and beneficence. Can you propagate slavery then by the sword?

You insist that you cannot submit to the freedom with which slavery is discussed in the free States. Will war—a war for slavery—arrest or even moderate that discussion? No, sir; that discussion will not cease; war would only inflame it to a greater height. It is a part of the eternal conflict between truth and error—between mind and physical force—the conflict of man against the obstacles which oppose his way to an ultimate and glorious destiny. It will go on until you shall terminate it in the only way in

which any State or nation has ever terminated it—by yielding to it—yielding in your own time, and in your own manner, indeed, but nevertheless yielding to the progress of emancipation. You will do this, sooner or later, whatever may be your opinion now; because nations which were prudent and humane, and wise as you are, have done so already.

Sir, the slave States have no reason to fear that this inevitable change will go too far or too fast for their safety or welfare. It cannot well go too fast or too far if the only alternative is a war of races.

But it cannot go too fast. Slavery has a reliable and accommodating ally in a party in the free States, which, though it claims to be, and doubtless is in many respects, a party of progress, finds its sole security for its political power in the support and aid of slavery in the slave States. Of course, I do not include in that party those who are now co-operating in maintaining the cause of freedom against slavery. I am not of that party of progress in the North which thus lends its support to slavery. But it is only just and candid that I should bear witness to its fidelity to the interests of slavery.

Slavery has, moreover, a more natural alliance with the aristocracy of the North and with the aristocracy of Europe. So long as slavery shall possess the cotton-fields, the sugar-fields, and the rice-fields of the world, so long will commerce and capital yield it toleration and sympathy. Emancipation is a democratic revolution. It is capital that arrests all democratic revolutions. It was capital that in a single year rolled back the tide of revolution from the base of the Carpathian mountains, across the Danube and the Rhine, into the streets of Paris. It is capital that is rapidly rolling back the throne of Napoleon into the chambers of the Tuileries.

Slavery has a guaranty still stronger than these in the prejudices of caste and color, which induce even large majorities in all the free States to regard sympathy with the slave as an act of unmanly humiliation and self-abasement, although philosophy meekly expresses her distrust of the asserted natural superiority of the white race, and confidently denies that such a superiority, if justly claimed, could give a title to oppression.

There remains one more guaranty—one that has seldom failed you, and will seldom fail you hereafter. New States cling in closer alliance than older ones to the Federal power. The concentration of the slave power enables you for long periods to control the Federal Government with the aid of the new States. I do not know the sentiments of the representatives of California, but my word for it, if they should be admitted on this floor to-day, against your most obstinate opposition, they would, on all questions really affecting your interests, be found at your side.

With these alliances to break the force of emancipation, there will be no disunion and no secession. I do not say that there may not be disturbance, though I do not apprehend even that. Absolute regularity and order in administration have not yet been established in any Government, and unbroken popular tranquillity has not yet been attained in even the most advanced condition of human society. The machinery of our system is necessarily complex. A pivot may fall out here, a lever may be displaced there, a wheel may fall out of gearing elsewhere, but the machinery will soon recover its regularity and move on just as before, with even better adaptation and adjustment to overcome new obstructions.

There are many well-disposed persons who are alarmed at the occurrence of any such disturbance. The failure of a legislative body to organize is to their apprehension a fearful omen, and an extra-constitutional assemblage to consult upon public aff[...] is with them cause for desperation. Even Sena[...] speak of the Union as if it existed only by cons[...] and, as it seems to be implied, by the assent of [...] Legislatures of the States. On the contrary, [...] Union was not founded in voluntary choice, nor d[...] it exist by voluntary consent.

A Union was proposed to the colonies by Fra[...] lin and others, in 1754; but such was their avers[...] to an abridgment of their own importance, resp[...] ively, that it was rejected even under the pressur[...] a disastrous invasion by France.

A Union of choice was proposed to the colo[...] in 1775; but so strong was their opposition [...] they went through and through the war of In[...] pendence without having established more tha[...] mere council of consultation.

But with independence came enlarged interest[...] agriculture—absolutely new interests of manu[...] tures—interests of commerce, of fisheries, of n[...] gation, of a common domain, of common debt[...] common revenues and taxation, of the adminis[...] tion of justice, of public defence, of public hon[...] in short, interests of common nationality and s[...] ereignty—interests which at last compelled the ad[...] tion of a more perfect union—a National Gov[...] ment.

The genius, talents, and learning of Hamilton[...] Jay, and of Madison, surpassing perhaps the in[...] lectual power ever exerted before for the establ[...] ment of a Government, combined with the se[...] but mighty influence of Washington, were only [...] ficient to secure the reluctant adoption of the C[...] stitution that is now the object of all our affect[...] and of the hopes of mankind. No wonder that [...] conflicts in which that Constitution was born, [...] the almost desponding solemnity of Washington[...] his Farewell Address, impressed his countrymen [...] mankind with a profound distrust of its perpetu[...] No wonder that while the murmurs of that day [...] yet ringing in our ears, we have cherished that [...] trust, with pious reverence, as a national and pa[...] otic sentiment!

But it is time to prevent the abuses of that se[...] ment. It is time to shake off that fear, for fear i[...] ways weakness. It is time to remember that G[...] ernment, even when it arises by chance or accid[...] and is administered capriciously and oppressivel[...] ever the strongest of all human institutions, sur[...] ing many social and ecclesiastical changes and c[...] vulsions, and that this Constitution of ours ha[...] the inherent strength common to Government[...] general, and added to them has also the solidity [...] firmness derived from broader and deeper foun[...] tions in national justice, and a better civil ada[...] tion to promote the welfare and happiness of m[...] kind.

The Union, the creature of necessities, phys[...] moral, social, and political, endures by virtue of [...] same necessities; and these necessities are stro[...] than when it was produced—stronger by the gre[...] amplitude of territory now covered by it—stronge[...] the sixfold increase of the society living unde[...] beneficent protection—stronger by the augmenta[...] ten thousand times of the fields, the workshops, [...] mines, and the ships of that society; of its pro[...] tions of the sea, of the plough, of the loom, an[...] the anvil, in their constant circle of internal and [...] ternational exchange—stronger in the long ri[...] penetrating regions before unknown—stronger i[...] the artificial roads, canals, and other channels [...] avenues essential not only to trade but to defen[...] stronger in steam navigation, in steam locomo[...] on the land, and in telegraph communicati[...] unknown when the Constitution was adopt[...] stronger in the freedom and in the growing em[...] of the seas—stronger in the element of nati[...]

honor in all lands, and stronger than all in the now settled habits of veneration and affection for institutions so stupendous and so useful.

The Union, then, *is*, not because merely that men choose that it shall be, but because some Government must exist here, and no other Government than this can. If it could be dashed to atoms by the whirlwind, the lightning, or the earthquake, to-day, it would rise again in all its just and magnificent proportions to-morrow.

This nation is a globe still accumulating upon accumulation, not a dissolving sphere.

I have heard somewhat here, and almost for the first time in my life, of divided allegiance—of allegiance to the South and to the Union—of allegiance to States severally and to the Union. Sir, if sympathies with State emulation and pride of achievement could be allowed to raise up another sovereign to divide the allegiance of a citizen of the United States, I might recognise the claims of the State to which, by birth and gratitude, I belong—to the State of Hamilton and Jay, of Schuyler, of the Clintons, and of Fulton—the State which, with less than two hundred miles of natural navigation connected with the ocean, has, by her own enterprise, secured to herself the commerce of the continent, and is steadily advancing to the command of the commerce of the world. But for all this I know only one country and one sovereign—the United States of America and the American People. And such as my allegiance is, is the loyalty of every other citizen of the United States. As I speak, he will speak when his time arrives. He knows no other country, and no other sovereign. He has life, liberty, property, and precious affections, and hopes for himself and for his posterity, treasured up in the ark of the Union. He knows as well and feels as strongly as I do that this Government is his own Government; that he is a part of it; that it was established for him, and that it is maintained by him; that it is the only truly wise, just, free, and equal Government that has ever existed; that no other Government could be so wise, just, free, and equal; and that it is safer and more beneficent than any which time or change could bring into its place.

You may tell me, sir, that although all this may be true, yet the trial of faction has not yet been made. Sir, if the trial of faction has not been made, it has not been because faction has not always existed, and has not always menaced a trial, but because faction could find no fulcrum on which to place the lever to subvert the Union, as it can find no fulcrum now; and in this is my confidence. I would not rashly provoke the trial; but I will not suffer a fear, which I have not, to make me compromise one sentiment, one principle of truth or justice, to avert a danger that all experience teaches me is purely chimerical. Let, then, those who distrust the Union make compromises to save it. I shall not impeach their wisdom, as I certainly cannot their patriotism; but indulging no such apprehensions myself, I shall vote for the admission of California directly, without conditions, without qualifications, and without compromise.

For the vindication of that vote I look not to the verdict of the passing hour, disturbed as the public mind now is by conflicting interests and passions, but to that period, happily not far distant, when the vast regions over which we are now legislating shall have received their destined inhabitants.

While looking forward to that day, its countless generations seem to me to be rising up and passing in dim and shadowy review before us; and a voice comes forth from their serried ranks, saying, "Waste your treasures and your armies, if you will; raze your fortifications to the ground; sink your navies into the sea; transmit to us even a dishonored name, if you must; but the soil you hold in trust for us—give it to us free. You found it free, and conquered it to extend a better and surer freedom over it. Whatever choice you have made for yourselves, let us have no partial freedom; let us all be free: let the reversion of your broad domain descend to us unincumbered, and free from the calamities and the sorrows of human bondage."

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REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS,

FOR

THE YEAR 1849.

PART I.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES:

EMBRACING

THE COMMISSIONER'S VIEWS

OF THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF INVENTION;
THE MOTORS—CHIEF LEVERS OF CIVILIZATION:
PROPOSED APPLICATIONS OF THE PATENT FUND:
1. PUBLICATION OF SPECIFICATIONS: 2. PREPARATION OF A GENERAL, ANALYTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE INDEX OF INVENTIONS: 4. INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL PRIZES;
AND ON THE PROPULSION OF STEAMERS.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY HORACE GREELEY.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY J. S. REDFIELD, CLINTON HALL.

1850.

INTRODUCTION.

The History of Human Industry is still an unwritten book. Mankind have, at length, attained the capacity to appreciate and profit by such a work, but unhappily the materials for its production have, in great part, been heedlessly wasted and suffered to perish. While every war, however frivolous its cause or fruitless its prosecution, has its chronicler, and every stupidly sensual ruler his biography, the world knows nothing of and scarcely inquires for the names of its greatest geniuses and benefactors. The inventors of the plough, the spindle, the loom, the grain-mill, now molder unknown and unhonored, and no man inquires for their tombs. It was but yesterday that it began to be suspected that Industry, its advances, and its achievements, were worthy of a chronicle; and that History might venture, without a sacrifice of its dignity, to record the discoveries and inventions of a Watt, an Arkwright, a Fulton, and others, whose genius has transformed the whole aspect and condition of the civilized world.

The idea that Government owes any direct service to Labor — that among its legitimate functions is that of encouraging, inciting, and cherishing Productive Industry — is one tardily accepted by rulers, and not even yet apprehended, in all its force and magnitude, by the millions. Unhappily, with the first faint dawning of the truth upon the awakening human mind, it was seized upon by the selfish, crafty, and powerful, and perverted to their own sordid ends. Rulers and cabinets intermeddled with the operations of Trade, and the developments of Industry, only to fill their own coffers, and those of their favorites, by the creation of gainful monopolies and special privileges, whereby wealth was amassed by the few, at the expense of the rights and comforts of the many. These abuses, skillfully extended and studiously persevered in, became confounded in the common mind with the salutary principle they had counterfeited and supplanted, until the protection and encouragement of Industry have come to be widely regarded as but delusive synonyms for her pillage and repression. The separation and vindication of this beneficent truth from its baneful abuse, is among the first duties of Republics to Humanity, and one to which our own seems especially summoned by its rank among Free Nations. May it prove faithful to its high calling!

For several years past, the Reports annually made by the Commissioner of Patents to Congress have justly attracted a large share of public attention. Neither of the great Executive Departments of the Federal Government is expressly charged with the consideration of the progress and well-being of Labor or Industry, whether in Agriculture,

Manufactures, or the Mechanic Arts, though the Treasury Department is impelled to a cursory and incidental review of them at each recurrence of its annual presentment to Congress, of the state and prospects of the National Finances. But the Patent Office, formerly under the direction of the State Department, but now supervised by that of the Interior, is obliged, not only to keep a record of the progress and successive achievements of Inventive genius, but to maintain a constant and accurate acquaintance therewith. A simple catalogue, with due elucidations of the patents annually granted, would be no mean contribution to the History already alluded to as deplorably deficient. And if the Commissioner be a man at all fitted for his station, the contemplation of the facts wherewith he is called to deal, must naturally impel him to conclusions and generalizations of signal import and utility to Labor and to Man.

Hitherto, for many years at least, it has been the usage to select for the post of Commissioner of Patents, gentlemen distinguished rather for legal than for mechanical acquirements, and whose services to the party, under whose auspices they were appointed, were deemed of primary consequence in determining the choice. Whatever aptitude they evinced for this especial service, so far as familiarity with Inventions and Mechanics may be deemed essential to such aptitude, was acquired in the office, and not carried into it by them. On the accession of the present Administration, it was decided, (at the instance, it is understood, of the President,) that a different rule should be established, and that a Commissioner of Patents should be chosen in utter disregard of other claims than those founded on familiarity with, and devotion to, Mechanical Science. The choice, thus directed, fell upon THOMAS EWBANK, of this city, well known to the scientific world by his great work on Hydraulics, and other contributions to the philosophy and history of Invention, but utterly unknown as a partisan, and without the slightest claim to preferment as a politician. The selection was received by many friends of the Executive with misgivings, as the sacrifice, in a political view, of a most important and effective position, which had for years previously been used with adroitness, and without scruple, to maintain the political predominance which, nevertheless, terminated on the 4th of March last.

Mr. Ewbank's first Report as Commissioner, was made to Congress early in January of this year, and transmitted, without reading, to the printers, from whom it is not expected to emerge to light for weeks at least, and probably for months. The whole will form an octavo of some five to six hundred pages, arranged under the following heads:—

I. FINANCES AND STATISTICS OF THE PATENT-OFFICE.
II. INVENTIONS AND CLAIMS.
III. EXAMINERS' AND MACHINIST'S REPORTS.
IV. ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF INVENTION.
V. THE MOTORS: CHIEF LEVERS OF CIVILIZATION.
VI. PROPOSED APPLICATIONS OF THE PATENT FUND.
1. PUBLICATION OF SPECIFICATIONS: 2. PREPARATION OF A GENERAL, ANALYTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE INDEX OF INVENTIONS: 4. INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL PRIZES.
VII. HISTORICAL NOTICES OF INVENTIONS, FROM ARCHIVES OF THE STATES, &c.
VIII. ON THE PROPULSION OF STEAMERS.

All of this matter is of decided, and most of it of general interest. The transcripts obtained by the Commissioner, from the archives of most of the original States, of documents there recorded or deposited, relating to the claims of discoverers and invent-

ors, prior to the establishment of a National Patent system and office, are exceedingly curious, and shed much light on the history of American Invention. The annual exhibit of the business and state of the Patent-Office, shows a dispatch and punctuality not recently common in that office. At the date of the Report, only *nine* patent claims remained unacted on, whereas the number in arrears is usually reckoned by hundreds. The List of Patents granted during the year 1849 is large beyond precedent, showing that the field of invention expands with the number of its cultivators, and that the vigor and force of American genius are only beginning to be vindicated. The Reports of the Examiners, &c., will reward the attention of those deeply interested in the progress of applied science.

But that large portion of the Report which more directly and especially embodies the Commissioner's views and suggestions regarding the history, condition, and prospects of Invention, and of Industrial Progress, has a more intense and universal interest. They are words of cheer to the Toiling Millions—of hope and solace to the unfriended and unhonored striver, in the ever-proceeding struggle of Man with the physical impediments which environ and cripple him. No one who lives, however humbly, by his own honest and useful labor, can read these portions of the Report, without a quickening pulse, a bounding heart, a beaming eye, as he reflects that he, too, though scorned by the purse-proud and the idly luxurious, is a soldier in that grand army which is everywhere advancing upon Chaos, Obstruction, and Night—which is transforming sour marshes, and impervious jungles, the lairs of savage beasts, the breeding-places of pestilence and myriads of vexatious insects, into homes of beauty and happiness, into laughing meadows, fruitful gardens, and fields waving with corn and cotton, for the sustenance and comfort of man. The woodman's axe rings clearer, the flail and the shuttle move livelier, and the toil-bent ditcher and delver walk more erect and elastic, wherever the grand truths propounded by Mr. Ewbank are or may be read and studied. The dignity of Labor, as discerned through this Report, is no Fourth-of-July rhodomontade, no school-boy declamation, but the simple and logical result of the laborer's position, his efforts, and his achievements.

An early transcript of the more essential portions of this Report having been obtained for the New-York Daily Tribune, by one of its Washington correspondents, liberal extracts therefrom were published from day to day, in the columns of that paper through the week succeeding the submission of the Commissioner's views to Congress. Those extracts instantly excited a wide and general interest, as was inevitable, and applications for copies, and to the Patent Office for the Report in full, were promptly made. The ability of The Tribune office to satisfy these demands was speedily exhausted, while the Patent Office could and can of course do nothing until Congress shall have printed the Report, and placed some copies at its disposal—which will be months hence, if ever. Under these circumstances, it has been deemed expedient to issue a cheap and fair pamphlet edition of the Commissioner's general views, embracing all of the Report that treats directly of THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF INVENTION, THE MOTORS—CHIEF LEVERS OF CIVILIZATION, THE PROPOSED APPLICATIONS OF THE PATENT FUND, AND THE PROPULSION OF STEAMERS, for popular and general diffusion.

The value of the suggestions herein contained to Inventors and Discoverers, can not be over-estimated, while it is believed that the ranks of these benefactors of mankind are destined soon to be largely recruited from those of the Engineers, Machinists, Mechanics, &c., &c., whom this work will fire with a noble ambition to tread the path to eminent usefulness and fame which here opens broadly, invitingly, before them. In fine it is believed that as a Text-Book of Labor, signally calculated to incite all to lives of active

beneficence and lofty achievement, this treatise will commend itself to the understandings and hearts of thousands, awaking a generous ambition and a just self-reliance in many breasts hitherto responsive to no higher summons than that of sensual appetite, or sordid interest, or sluggishly bewailing their limited opportunities and the niggard dispensations of Fortune. In the faith that such results must follow its general perusal, this Report is earnestly commended to the regard of the philanthropic and the study of the young. May its diffusion be commensurate with its merits!

New York, *Feb.* 1, 1850.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

PATENT-OFFICE, WASHINGTON,
January, 1850.

SIR—

AGREEABLY to the requisition of the act which makes it the duty of the Commissioner to communicate to Congress the condition of the Patent-Office "in the month of January annually," the undersigned respectfully submits PART FIRST of the report for the year just expired. PART SECOND, assigned to agriculture, can not be ready for some months. Under no circumstances could it be prepared by the time designated by law for the presentation of matters relating to inventions, since that would involve the collection and arrangement of statistics for the year, before the year expired.

I have the honor to be most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
THOMAS EWBANK,
Commissioner.

To the Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE,
Vice President of the United States, and
President of the Senate.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

IV.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF INVENTION.

THE present is thought to be a suitable occasion to submit a few general observations, illustrative and suggestive, on the origin, early development, and future achievements of the Arts, hinderances to their progress, value to society of the classes who cultivate them, &c.; with remarks on THE MOTORS—the great levers of civilization; presuming that such will not be considered an irrelevant introduction to occasional *resumés* of the results of science, which are proposed as features in future reports from this bureau. Facts embodied in summaries of the kind would be of popular interest and permanent value.

The short period intervening between the appointment of the undersigned and the time designated by law for the presentation of this Report, in connection with urgent and incessant demands of other official duties, has rendered it impossible to prepare or make arrangements for the preparation of such a document for the present communication.

ADVENT OF THE ARTS.

Man has everywhere made his debût in the character of an Orson. Soon as the curtain rises, behind which there is no peeping, as an untamed animal he leaps upon the stage, and as such goes through the opening act. The annals of all the people of old began with their condition as savages. Those of the Jews form no exception; their earliest progenitors are represented as being at the foot of Civilization's ladder, in both arts and morals. Of the present occupants of the

earth, the records of the enlightened trace their forefathers to various phases of this same low condition, beyond which a large portion of mankind has not yet advanced: an indication of the infancy of the species.

Man's physical wants first occupied his attention. In the dawn of his being, he was as ignorant of others as his wildest descendants are now. In common with creatures below him, his necessities were his monitors; designed by his Maker to initiate him into habits and awaken impulses that were to become distinguishing traits of his race. He was to be a thinker and a worker. All creatures act more or less from reflection, but in him these qualities were to be pre-eminent. He was to live by his ingenuity and labor, according to a law from which no order of beings on our globe are exempt, and most likely on no others.

It is irrational to suppose that happiness of any kind can be realized, except as the reward of efforts to attain it. In this respect, ants and angels are probably alike. Every living thing is furnished with organs adapted to its nature and the theatre of its existence; and on the proper application of these its enjoyments and their augmentation are made to depend. Knowledge comes not to us by intuition, and the tenderest insect perishes that uses not the means given it to live. All are ordained to preserve life by the diligent employment of their faculties, and all are urged thereto by the most pressing of natural requirements. The spirit of the injunction that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow was therefore nothing new, since it had been imposed as a condition of life and of the enjoyment of life from the beginning. Indeed, it is not conceivable how any of earth's denizens could have been disciplined for the work assigned them, had not their energies been stimulated into action by privations. Man certainly could not, as the story of Eden proclaims; philosophy and experience unite in declaring that, had he been encircled with perpetual ease and abundance, the sloth and the glutton, with a mind torpid as in zoophytes, had become united in him. His sin was indolence, and in a national point of view that includes all others; it is one for which there is no forgiveness—can be none. He preferred, and so have his unreclaimed and half-reclaimed descendants to this day, to live on spontaneous food rather than earn it by labor as commanded; hence it was a blessing to expel him—a curse to let him stay. Had he been permitted in loose idleness to live, rude Nature's state had been our state to-day;—

"With brother brutes the human brute had grazed."

No one doubts that at his advent ample provision was made for him—else he had perished in his non-age—and that it was continued till

by increasing numbers the species was established. He was then urged to retire from a location merely intended as the cradle of his infancy—a nursery in which he was to grow till strong enough to provide for himself. His very nature and organization made labor necessary to both mental and bodily vigor, but in the midst of plenty he had no motives to activity nor useful pursuits. Without it the race must have become extinct. Even now, with all our knowledge of the value of science and art, were the earth to bring forth, without culture, food in superabundance, and continue to produce it, mankind would inevitably fall back into barbarism.

As with man, so with all terrestrial creatures. None came till the earth was ready to receive them. Every genera had its Eden, in which its first representatives burst into being, and were nourished till strong and numerous enough to migrate. They, too, were then driven out.

If, therefore, wants had never been felt, THE ARTS had never been known, and without them there could have been neither science, refinement, nor morals. Happily, then—thrice happily—did sterility of soils, inclemencies of seasons, scarcity of game and other food, force man to reflect, invent, and construct—to become an artificer—and thereby to clear the way for the unfolding of the higher qualities of his being.

THEIR EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

In the arts of modern animals we find those of their earliest representatives, and in the handicrafts of living barbarians we may contemplate those current in Eden and in the colonies that sprung up around it; for there is as marked a resemblance in the primal devices of man, as in those of the groups below him, and necessarily so, since originating in the same wants, the same instinctive impulses suggested and will ever suggest them. While pressing difficulties gave rise to primal devices, necessities led to their improvement and multiplication. Whenever a marked advance took place, it seems to have arisen in much the same way as among inferior beings. If we examine the habits and actions of these, we shall find the same diversity of temper, talents, and their consequences, prevailing as with us. The ingenious and industrious thrive; the idle and inexpert suffer. Every creature, from the eagle to the ephemeron, the lion to the lion-ant, is the author of its own fortunes, good or bad. Some, in advance of their fellows, modify staple structures and stratagems to meet unusual emergencies, and are rewarded for their pains. They are the inventors of their tribes. Novel circumstances suggest new ideas, which become manifested in new forms, materials, and practices. Precisely so with the animal, Man: As circumstances changed around him, so did his de-

vices; and hence useful results gradually accumulated, and the avenues to civilization opened.

If necessities were the parents of invention, conveniences were its nurses and enjoyments its teachers. As society improved so did these, and, keeping in advance, they courted and encouraged it on. Suggesting new ideas, they kept enlarging human prospects and eliciting new desires, which required higher efforts to fulfil. In this way the most refined of people have risen from the rudest, and in this way people must always rise. Every decided acquisition in the beginning leads to another, and it to others and others, so that the truth is now becoming apparent, that accessions to science and art can only cease with human progress: and the converse—when it is arrested, they must decline, and as it retrogrades they will disappear, one by one, till the race revert to primitive ignorance and infelicity.

WHAT IS YET TO BE DONE BY THEM.

The faculties of those who talk of limits to knowledge, and to the fruits of knowledge, are nascent. They have neither full nor half-grown ideas of man's powers, and the miracles in agriculture, chemistry, and mechanics, he has to perform. Would they judge of the future by the past, or determine what is to be, by what is? Do they think the earth is to remain as now—the greater part arid moors, dark forests, and morass? A larger—much larger—proportion of their own species, too, as destitute of mental and moral cultivation! Why, man is only entering on his task—by a few preliminary and scattered experiments preparing himself to set about it.

An infinity of work is before him. As an agriculturist, he has to lay and keep enlarging the basis of the social column. All but an insignificant portion of his splendid patrimony is yet wild land: this he has to reclaim and convert into orchards and gardens, into grass and grain-growing fields. The richest sections—the tropics—so exuberant in fertility, are to be subjugated: hardly touched by the plough, though deemed the birthplace and special homestead of the species. Free and facile communications with and through all have to be established. Add to this the purification of the atmosphere from malaria: for, by human providence, salubrity is to succeed baneful miasma of marshes—the hot-beds of fevers and agues are to be dried up, and human life and life's happiness prolonged.

The nature and properties of myriads of unknown plants have to be ascertained—the valuable fostered, improved, and multiplied; the noxious and useless suppressed. So of animals; for to us is committed the power of molding and increasing such as are serviceable, and of

annihilating others, by removing the conditions under or by which they alone can exist. By the exercise of this prerogative, results have been brought about as singular as any in vegetable and artificial organisms. Dimensions, forms, colors, proportions, habits, tastes, and the very faculties of the lower tribes, have been changed—so much so as to make it doubtful whether species and sub-species may not be due after all to this strange plasticity of animated matter. The earth is a laboratory, in which as a chemist man has hardly begun to operate. A few loose samples of what it is composed of have been partially analyzed, but the bulk is not yet broken into. Then the infinity of processes ceaselessly and silently going on in organized and inert matter has to be grappled with. As a factory, too, furnished with implements and materials in superabundance, little has been done in it—nothing worth naming, in view of what has to be done. The rich stock has been neglected—not half of it has been yet even seen; while forces for fabricating it have from the beginning of time been, some running to waste, others lying dormant for want of being called up to labor.

When every force, latent and manifest, is brought into service and made the most of—when man has spread his influence over every foot of the earth's surface, and brought the stores beneath it within his reach—when mundane matter, in whatever form appearing, is made to contribute to his ends—when the planet is wholly changed from its natural wildness as a harbor for untamed brutes and noxious reptiles, into a fit theatre for cultivated intelligences—it will be time enough to speak of human advancement as culminating, and the arts as having reached the limits of perfection.

Till these things come to pass, instead of looking for no more discoveries, we should be prepared for a constant succession of them. Prepared or not, they are sure to come; for the hosts of keen intellects interrogating nature in our own country, and the legions as busy in others, are not entreating her for nothing, nor for trifles.

Civilization may be likened to a statue, the carving of which is the business of the species. It includes all duties and furnishes appropriate employments for the varied capacities of all men, for all time. Each successive age withdraws one band of laborers, and brings forward another, whose faithfulness, awkwardness, or negligence, advances or retrogrades the work. Under barbarism, it was a shapeless block; with the dawn of knowledge its features began to appear, and then nations occupied themselves in chiselling away superfluous material and bringing them into higher relief. During the last century some artist-like touches were added, more have been in the present one, and in the next this great moral sculpture will be further improved, for the time can never be when to it new graces and a higher polish can not be given. To those who add nothing to it, existence is a blank.

DISCOVERIES AND IMPROVEMENTS ENDLESS.

The arts are like plants, proliferous, and like them too can only be improved by culture. The transformations wrought by horticulturists and pomologists are all but incredible. Peaches were originally poisonous almonds, and used to impregnate arrows with deadly venom. Cherries are derived from a berry of which a single one only grew on a stem; nectarines and apricots are hybrids of the plum and peach; the chief of esculents, with its relatives, broccoli and cauliflower, come from a marine plant — from the common sea-cale — which shoots up on some sandy shores. Such are mere specimens of vegetable metamorphoses brought about by transplanting, acclimating, crossings, and culture.

It is much the same with the fruits and flowers of art. They are nothing till improved by cultivation, and from very humble and ignoble sources they, too, spring. A fowling-piece is a child's popgun elaborated; clay-huts were the germs of our marble mansions; a ship is a ripened canoe; and the steam-engine itself may be traced to covers ejected from primeval caldrons. The highest elegancies are descendants of very homely progenitors. Our ladies adjust their shawls of cashmere in front of glass mirrors supported by Psyches; primitive belles covered their shoulders with skins of newly-slain animals, and admired their unctuous faces in pans of water and polished stones. A Jacquard loom is an Indian's weaving frame matured, and printed volumes are deducible from quippos and historical belts of wampum. Like plants, inventions grow and multiply, and to congenial minds present a class of varied beauties, captivating as any with which amateur and professional florists are charmed.

Newly acquired truths in physics are keys, each of which unlocks a world of wonders. Every new art gives birth to a thousand. The range of discovery is undoubtedly illimitable — a truth that has only dawned recently with full conviction upon even savans. A century ago, few minds were prepared to receive it and fewer to act on it. Pregnant with hope, with present and prospective acquisitions, it is among the divinest of modern convictions. Navigators have added some islands and others continents, and the woolcomber's son of Genoa gave a hemisphere to geography. This done, comparatively little was left of the earth's surface to explore; but it is not so with science, or the applications of science. In them fresh additions — new continents, new worlds, and new systems — are realizable for ever. The study of Nature's mechanisms, of God's own applications of the same principles and materials he has given inventors to work with, is only beginning. The UNIVERSE is before inventors, and all its ele-

ments and energies invite their attention. There is, therefore, no danger, in expecting or attempting too much, provided they aspire not beyond where Nature herself has gone, and even then illusions vanish with experiment.

There is a good moral to be drawn by daring inventors from this fathomless and boundless ocean of novelties,—it is this: Avoid crowds of small craft in quest of mere improvements, and launch out your barks in search of original things. True genius is rather ambitious to bring up pearls of its own, than solicitous to polish those of other men. Since there is such abundance of room for all, it should be the determination of every one to occupy some ground of his own,—to use another figure, to seek out "*placers*" untouched, in preference to sifting in old diggings.

DIGNITY OF MECHANICAL PURSUITS.

It is a singular vagary that men to whose genius and industry the world is indebted for what is most valuable in it, should have always been held in low esteem. A habit of modern, it was a passion in former times, to look askant at those who use the hammer or spade, under the fond delusion that the less wise men have to do with gross matter, the nearer they resemble the Great Spirit; whereas God is the greatest of workers—the chief of artificers. So far from locking up his wisdom in abstractions, he is incessantly embodying in it tangible things; and in them it is that his intelligence, ingenuity, and resources are made manifest. What is this world but one of his workshops, and the universe but a collection of his inventions? In him the squeamishness of half-formed philosophers and of high-bred fashionables respecting manual and mechanical pursuits finds no sympathy, but terrible rebuke. His works proclaim his preference for the material and useful to the merely imaginative, and in truth it is in such that the truly beautiful or sublime is to be found. A steamer is a mightier epic than the Iliad; and Whittemore, Jacquard, and Blanchard, might laugh even Virgil, Milton, and Tasso, to scorn.

There is, moreover, a morality belonging to the arts that as yet has been little heeded; a lever, hammer, pulley, wedge, and screw, are actual representations of great natural truths, and the men who revealed them may be said to have been inspired. The divine afflatus flows through many channels. In fact all truths are allied—the decalogue being an exponent of moral, as are mechanical inventions of physical, and axioms in science of philosophical verities—hence, whatever science discovers and art applies is divine, and ultimately tends to eradicate evil; indeed, all teachings begin with the arts, and nothing is more certain than that all must end with them. If we glance at ex-

isting nations, we invariably find those that excel in arts and sciences most deeply imbued with moral principles — the foremost and most active in the benevolent enterprises of the age.

Inventors, then, are revealers and expounders of the practical doctrines of civilization, and more than any other class have they shown us how to lessen life's evils and multiply its good. The connection of morals with expanding science and art, and the necessity of their union to the elevation of the species, are beginning to elicit attention. It is now perceived that deviations from principles of science — either in agriculture, arts, manufactures, in processes or pursuits of any kind — are errors, and all errors, in an extended sense, are SINS — are violations of Divine laws. And though sins of ignorance they carry, and will for ever carry, their punishment with them, viz.: in imperfect results and the infliction of unnecessary inconvenience, expenses, and toil, in spending strength for naught.

Not till mechanical as well as ethical science is fully explored and universally applied can man attain his destiny, and evil be swept from the earth.

It has been regretted also, as an evil of magnitude, that, while the arts administer to the necessities of the species, a general knowledge of them has not been demanded as a feature of popular education; that while the works of historians, poets, and theorists, have been adopted as models upon which to form the taste and excite the ambition of youth, the great doctrines of life, as exemplified in the processes by which the products of the planet, its forces, and the properties of its substances, are converted into the elements and accessories of material and consequently of mental refinement, have been neglected.

But such are errors belonging rather to the past than to the present or the future. Their detection is a presage of their disappearance. Evils incident to the progress of society, they, with many others, are only gradually to be surmounted. The philosophy or physics of the workshop is but beginning to be understood — true estimates of its value to be appreciated: — indubitable proofs, however, that the movements of civilization are onward and upward. It is now perceived that in ordinary avocations principles of science are invoked that furnish subjects of research to the profoundest minds, and such as may serve to quicken and enrich the perceptions of the most sagacious.

INVENTORS AND WHAT THEY HAVE DONE.

A world without inventors would consist only of forest and swamp. Before they appeared, it was, and where they are not, it is, an Australian jungle, through which men affiliated with beasts roam in quest

of miserable subsistence and shelter. The difference between the civilized and troglodytes is, one class contrives, the other does not. Nothing is clearer than that mechanical inventions are ordained to animate, clothe, and adorn, a naked and torpescent world—to infuse into the species the elements of increasing vigor and felicity. Even as arts multiply and flourish, the chief labor of working out the great problems of existence continues to devolve upon inventors. Without them the prospects and hopes of the present had neither been seen nor felt. It is they who, by discovering new physical truths, are establishing the grandest of moral ones—*Perpetual Progress*—illimitable advancement in social, civil, and intellectual enjoyments.

The idea is common that *savans* discover and inventors apply. It is not always so. The fact has scarcely if ever been glanced at, that nearly every marked advance of civilization began with and is due to the latter. Without disturbing old records, it is enough to turn a leaf of modern history. The substitution of fire-arms for primitive weapons has wrought an entire change on the face of society. Another and ever-memorable epoch was introduced by the revivers of printing and the inventors of type-founding; another by steam as a motor; to say nothing of the revolutions brought about more recently by spinning-jennies, power-looms, ocean-steaming, gas-lights, lithography, telegraphs, railroads, &c., which so honorably distinguish our times from all that preceded them.

But for the artificer's skill, the sublimest of the sciences had not been attempted, nor the sublimest triumphs of human reason and research achieved. By means of two inventions, the extremes of creation are brought within the range of human observation, and the grandest of conceivable miracles demonstrated. With the microscope, the human eye discovers animated worlds in drops of liquid and grains of fecula, and may yet detect ultimate atoms in the most attenuant of the gases. By the telescope, the same eye penetrates and wanders at leisure through a space far beyond what was once thought the limits of an arch-spirit's flight. Leaving the satellites of remote planets behind, it resolves the infinitely more remote nebulæ and, sweeping around the awful horizon, takes in what would seem half the universe.

At a more favorable time than Fitch lived in, Fulton rose, and steamers began to creep up rivers, next dashed over lakes and inland seas, and now are rushing in fleets over every ocean: Whitney appeared, and forests were swept away to make room for cotton-fields—thus turning the soil from harboring beasts of prey to raising clothing for half mankind: Daguerre, and the sun turns portrait-painter—exemplifying a classic myth. Stranger still, Morse and his compeers have bridled the most subtle, fitful, and terrific of agents, taught it to wait, silent and prompt as a page in a monarch's ante-chamber, and

when charged with a message, to assume the character of a courier whose speed rivals thought and approaches volition. From the beginning, means more or less rude and refined have been employed for the conveyance of material things, but not until now has the transportation of thought—of thought divested of aught visible or ponderable—been attained. Indian runners hasten with information through floods and forests, over hill and dale; but to carry it, they convey themselves as packages containing it, or as tablets on which it is impressed. So also with the contents of our mails—minds commune with distant minds through the gross medium of printed and written paper; whereas by means of artificially evolved lightning, a postal system is established akin to the spiritual; for by it thoughts are made to dart through space unchanged by symbols and envelopes, and consequently unretarded by carriers and postmen.

The wildest freaks of fancy have been strangely verified in the telegraph, as *outré* bottle-imps and more attractive fairies; giving color to the proposition that in nature's arcana are germs of every popular superstition, and that no prevalent delusion is without its corresponding truth. Be this as it may, the chiefs of modern Prosperos, by means of a few strips of metal, release from jars of acid spirits so agile and obedient, that, on the slightest tap of its master's finger, each one flies with messages over a hundred leagues of latitude, delivers them, returns, and is in waiting for others before the signals can be repeated, or the pulse beat twice! An ancient elf boasted of putting a girdle round the earth in forty minutes—these modern sprites can really do it within half of one. If art and science allied have done such things, what is it they can not do?

If machinery does not *think*, it does that which nothing but severe and prolonged thinking can do, and it does it incomparably better. In the composition of astronomical and nautical tables, accuracy is everything. Many a ship has been wrecked through wrong figures in "Guides" to navigation—but absolute accuracy, continued through abstruse calculations that occupy months, and sometimes years, is too much to expect even from the most sagacious, studious, and careful. But suppose it attained; the next difficulty is to transfer the results, untainted with error, to printed pages; a source of mistakes which few besides authors and printers can appreciate. If other persons were told the impossibility of copying from manuscript millions of figures without misplacing, leaving out or inverting more or less, they would hardly yield their assent. It is enough to say that perfection in elaborate and difficult calculations is unattainable with certainty by human figures; nor is it to be expected in the professional labors of the most expert compositors.

Now, automata have been made to work out arithmetical problems

with positive certainty and admirable expedition;—relieving mathematicians and others of an incalculable amount of mental drudgery—drudgery that has worn out the strongest constitutions. Moreover, they carry the use of numbers further than the clearest intellects dare follow—to an extent that language lacks terms to express. In human computations, minute errors creep in and corrupt the whole, often requiring months of the closest ratiocination to find out; but calculating machines detect their own mistakes at once, correct them, shutting out the interference of human fingers as well as heads, and with them the chance of marring the work, they print their tables as well as compose them—thus producing works to which entire confidence can safely be given.

The power inventors wield is not less manifest in the changes they have wrought in the habits, customs, and occupations of females, than it is obvious in the pursuits of the other sex, in the outdoor world. They have not only broken up the time-honored arrangements of the kitchen, wash-house, and dairy, but have invaded the parlor and even boudoir. A century ago the rock and spindle were common;—in Europe are women who still twist thread with their fingers. Fifty years since the wheel had a place in every dwelling, and carding no less than spinning was a domestic duty. With thrifty housewives the shuttle, too, was not a stranger. Within twenty years knitting was indispensable; not a few of our farmers still wear homemade hose. Then straw-plaiting, tambour-working, lace-making, plain and fancy embroidery, with other delicate operations of the needle, were and are still taught as necessary accomplishments. Such they will hardly be held much longer, since these and various other performances are now done by automatic fingers with a precision, regularity, despatch, delicacy of touch and finish, that no human organs can rival.

Most, if not all, the fine arts have been subdued by mechanism. The lathe is still to be met with in its primitive forms, in the potter's wheel, the spring-pole, and in the modern Egyptian's atelier—(seated on the ground, this artist employs one hand to revolve the object to be formed, holds the cutting tool in the other, and presses it on the rest with his toes). The lathe, so long confined to shape articles whose sections were circles, now produces oval, elliptical, epicycloidal, and eccentric work; copies medallions, and even busts in equal, enlarged, or reduced proportions—performing the work of the engraver, die-sinker, and statuary or sculptor.

The richest figured tapestry and damask in relief are now produced by magic mechanism. Looms rival the palette and burin; besides gorgeously-colored carpets they weave landscapes equal to oil paintings, and portraits after the finest line engravings. Then, from the increase in number of sewing machines,* the time would seem not dis-

* Four patents have been issued from this office for such machines during the present year.

tant when the needle itself and thimble will be exhibited in museums with distaffs, spinning-wheels, knitting-wires, tambour-frames, hand-looms, lace-making bobbins, pillons, and other antiquarian curiosities, as evidences of imperfect civilization. In chromo-lithography, automaton artists rival the finest touches of old masters, and shortly will multiply by millions their most esteemed productions.

Though not suspected, the power of inventors over human affairs is already supreme; machinery even now governs the world, though the world does not acknowledge it.

ERRORS ENTERTAINED OF INVENTORS.

It is a prevalent opinion that both ordinary and extraordinary inventions cost their authors little labor and thought to develop: nothing is more erroneous. It is an essential element of man's being, and of the the constitution of things under which he exists, that all truths, mechanical or philosophical, can only be realized by strenuous and continued effort. Our perceptive faculties are too obtuse, and happily for us it is so, to apprehend them at a glance. In that case, they would be held too cheap to be looked for, and deemed worthless when seen. If inventions required no exertion to discover, where would be their value? If virtue cost nothing, it would cease to be virtue. No fact is clearer than that man's destinies are in his own hands, and that he alone can exalt and debase them. To rouse him to be faithful to himself is Nature's ceaseless care. With powers dormant in him and equal to every exigence, she leaves him to exert them or not. She does naught for him that he can do for himself, and has taken care that he shall know nothing, have nothing, that he does not strive for.

Then how common is it to hear ingenious men disparaged by ascribing their best things to lucky or random suggestions — whereas *chance* inventions, if such things ever were, are much rarer than supposed. Though appearing fortuitous, they may be traced to previous reasonings or reflections: sprouting seeds whose transient plantings had been little noticed and forgotten. They had never sprung up had they not fallen on soils prepared by previous culture to receive them. Sparks set not sand on fire, nor do fruitful ideas germinate in barren minds. Flashes of thought, like those of the electric fluid, may dart suddenly and unexpectedly, but they are not less the regular effects of inducing causes. Inspiration descends not in its highest or its lowest forms but on those who seek to be inspired.

It is not given to man to perfect aught without toil, and seldom without long-continued toil. The smith forges not a ploughshare with a blow, nor is any new device, however simple, matured save by repercussions of thought. *Nul bien sans peine* is a universal truth.

PROSPECTS BEFORE INVENTORS ARE BRIGHTENING.

More correct views of genuine celebrity are obtaining, and high time it is, since the trumpet of fame has seldom been blown by a seraph. History, the voice of the past and which ought to have been a safe monitor for the present, has led the world astray with regard to honor and its truest sources. How little has it contributed to those occupations which tend to humanize the species, and how much to cherish others? It has done next to nothing for humanity but to debase it; fostering the worst passions, it has all but strangled the best. If not written for the sole purpose of preventing the earth from being enclosed within the pales of civilization — of continuing it as a series of hunting-grounds under old forest laws, for broods of human tigers — it seems to have been composed for little else. What is it on the whole but a recital of the feats of prize-fighters, and of the passions of brutalized spectators? Representing the arts of peace as mean, it has taught that nobility and glory are won amid rapine, conflagration, and slaughter. Its feasts, so called, are fitted chiefly to whet the appetites of accipitrines.

But it is one of the most encouraging signs, as well as a growing characteristic of the times, that paths to pre-eminence are opening to all men; that as honorable renown awaits agriculturists and artificers, as has been attained in other pursuits. There is, indeed, no degree of distinction which may not become theirs if they devote themselves to the latent truths connected with their professions; for as sublime principles of science are yet to be drawn out of the ground we tread on, and from the air we breathe, as have been discovered in the ocean of worlds above us. Justice will be awarded to enlightened workers as well as to mere thinkers — to laborers as to speculators on labor. Even now writers are beginning to expatiate on the poetry and morals of mechanism, on its powers to please and instruct; and by-and-by it will be admitted that, for rich and varied thought, for boldness, grandeur, and minuteness of conception, simplicity and complexity of design; for the union of the agreeable and beautiful, the beneficial and marvellous, poems carved out of wood and forged out of metals equal, if they do not surpass, the most imaginative of creations.

In permanency and purity of fame, few will hereafter rival practical men. Than they, few will stand higher among the great — none better among the good. Will his country ever forget the souvenir Fulton gave her? In what age will not children lisp the name of Morse? How often are popular writers accused of pandering to the passions; but what contributor to the arts is a corruptor of morals? Like the works of the Divine Artificer, theirs tend to elevate, not to debase.

If agriculture preceded the mechanic arts, its progress beyond pri-

meval efforts has depended upon them. They have made it what it is, and are fast disclosing what it is to be—clearing the way for it to advance where it was never known, and to flourish beyond all precedent. Locomotives now darting, and others preparing to follow, through deserts and over wild lands, scatter rich blessings in their train; dark forests are falling before them, and cultivated fields and smiling villages are everywhere springing up on either hand—the mightiest agents yet revealed in enabling man to fulfil his destiny in subduing the earth.

If any classes can be said to hold the future destinies of the planet in their hands more than others, it must be engineers and mechanicians. These men are filling the world with new ideas and agitating it with their projects. Within the last half-century they have revolutionized society, and are preparing to bring about still greater changes. We can not move without feeling their influence, nor can the world go on a day without them. Although hitherto united by no bond of union, they will, if faithful to their mission, make themselves felt in its future management.

INFLUENCE OF FREEDOM ON THE PROGRESS OF ARTS.

The passion for philosophical inquiry and stirring enterprise, so characteristic of our citizens, is the natural result of independence in thought and action. Political oppression, however mollified, acts as a drag on the intellect. Shackled in one thing, the soul is more or less fettered in all. The genius of invention may exist elsewhere, but it flourishes only under the ægis of freedom. It would not do otherwise without violating an organic law of our being. Who thinks of looking for great thoughts, or for men to work out great problems of humanity, where mind has for ages been squeezed into molds formed to distort and to dwarf it, and not rather where it is free to obey its native impulses and soar where it listeth? If practical science with us does not surpass what has been accomplished in it by others—if we do not contribute more largely to the stock and to the efficiency of automatic mechanism—either nature will not be true to herself, or we shall be traitors to her.

We know nothing of the embarrassments and sufferings which the ingenious of other lands have for ages been struggling with. It requires no small amount of faith to credit them or the sanity of those who sanctioned them, and it is all but incredible that the oppressed, possessing the spirit and feelings of men, were not maddened into unquenchable fury by their deep and lasting wrongs.

Court profligates, in want of money, were invested by monarchs—who claimed a right to dispose of the property as well as persons of their subjects—with monopolies of the various occupations of the pro-

ductive classes, and forthwith those who followed them had to purchase licenses to continue their trades of the favored courtiers or companies to whom they sold out. This was carried to such an extent that no branch of business escaped; professions the most essential to existence, as those of the baker, miller, dealers in fuel, light, soap, &c., were thus disposed of. The genius of wrong presided over every department of industry and art—every addition to material civilization has been laid under contribution by it.

M. Perpigna, a French writer on the law of patents, alluding to the treatment of the mechanics and manufacturers of that country, has in reality portrayed the devices by which those of the whole of Europe were harassed, and by which some are still harassed.

Fettered and oppressed in every way as France was under the government of her despotic kings, the spirit of invention and enterprise could never rise to high conceptions. Manufacturers, placed under the severe control of men who purchased their offices from government, and who therefore exercised them with rapacity, could not hazard any improvement without infringing the established regulations and running the risk of having their goods destroyed, burnt, or confiscated. In every trade official regulations prescribed to workmen the methods of working, and forbade any deviation from them under pain of the most severe punishments. Ridiculous to say, the framer of these statutes fancied he understood better how to sort and prepare wool, silk, or cotton, to spin threads, to twist and throw them, than workmen brought up to the trade, and whose livelihood depended on their talent!

To insure a compliance with such absurd regulations, inquisitorial measures were resorted to: the residences of manufacturers entered by force; their establishments searched and explored and their mode of working inquired into. Thus their most secret methods were often discovered and pirated by fraudulent competitors.

The excesses committed under these tyrannical statutes were such that one can scarcely conceive how any nation could long submit to them.

The minister, Roland de la Platiere, giving a deplorable account of the numerous acts of oppression he had witnessed, says:—

"I have seen eighty, ninety, a hundred pieces of cotton or woollen stuffs cut up and completely destroyed; I have witnessed similar scenes every week for a great number of years; I have seen manufactured goods confiscated—heavy fines laid on manufacturers—some pieces of fabrics were burnt in public places and at the hours of market; others were fixed to the pillory with the name of the manufacturer inscribed upon them, and he himself was threatened with the pillory in case of a second offence. All this was done under my eyes at Rouen in conformity with existing regulations or ministerial orders. What crime deserved so cruel a punishment? Some defects in the materials

employed or in the texture of the fabric, or even in some of the threads of the warp!

"I have frequently seen," continues Roland, "manufacturers visited by a band of satellites, who put all in confusion in their establishments, spread terror in their families, cut the stuffs from the frames, tore off the warp from the looms, and carried them away as proofs of infringements. The manufacturers were summoned, tried, and condemned—their goods confiscated, copies of their judgment of condemnation posted up in every public place; fortune, reputation and credit, all was lost and destroyed—and for what offence? Because they had made with worsted a kind of cloth called *shag*, such as the English used to manufacture and even sell in France, while the French regulations stated that the kind of cloth should be made with mohair. I have seen other manufacturers treated in the same way because they had made camlets of a particular width used in England and Germany, for which there was a great demand from Spain, Portugal, and other countries, and from several parts of France, while the French regulations prescribed other widths for camlets."

There was no free town where mechanical inventors could find a refuge against the tyranny of the monopolists. No trade but what was clearly and explicitly described by the statutes could be exercised; none but what was included in the principles of some corporation.

How was it possible for any invention to thrive under such oppressive regulations?

No one could improve on a method or deviate from the prescribed rules for manufacturing stuffs of cotton, worsted, or silk, without running the risk of being heavily fined, having his frames destroyed, and his manufactured goods burned in the public place by the hands of the executioner.

Many inventors were forbidden to reduce their inventions into practice when their application for letters-patent was not supported by powerful recommendations, or when they were unable to bid a high price for the good-will of the clerks of office.

What made the rights and privileges of corporations still more odious and oppressive, was that they were granted for an unlimited time.

But the public mind, instructed by the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and many other authors, had become too enlightened to allow such abuses, transmitted from ruder times, to be maintained in their original barbarity. A cry for the emancipation of the human mind, raised at first by philosophers, was soon echoed by the people, and a concession to public opinion became every day more necessary.

A declaration of Louis XV., made in 1762, reduced all privileges to fifteen years. This was certainly an amelioration.

The memorable edict of 1776, given by Louis XVI., by suppressing

all monopolies and corporations, opened to arts and manufactures a new career, and offered a powerful encouragement to industry. But this suppression of monopolies excited the opposition of private interests; and the French ministry, by annulling without any compensation, monopolies which had been purchased by several trades and sold at different times by government itself, committed an injustice and breach of faith which the best intentions could not justify. The celebrated Turgot, framer of the edict, was obliged to retire from office and the edict itself was repealed.

After the failure of the attempt made to throw open every trade and every profession, several other edicts were issued to lessen the oppression of the existing statutes; but the evil had taken too deep a root to be removed by such weak measures. It subsisted, therefore, more or less until the French revolution, when all privileges were, in one day, abolished and destroyed.

French arts and manufacturers, freed from bondage and from the oppressive yoke under which they had groaned for so many centuries, began a new life. The French people possessed at last the free and uncontrolled exercise of their faculties, by the removal of obstacles which a blind policy had thrown in the way of improvement. That was a material point obtained, but it was not sufficient; it was necessary besides to secure to all men residing in France, whether natives or foreigners, the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their exertions; this was done by the laws on patents, passed in the year 1791.

The connection of civil and religious emancipation with progress in acts, and consequently with the highest of human interests, is becoming daily more and more apparent. The influence of free institutions is extending far beyond mere political regeneration; they have higher objects to attain and grander results to bring about. It is not enough for them to lift up the long prostrated victim of oppression — to cause him to stand erect and with palpitating heart and swelling chest, to feel himself a man; this is but preliminary — a removing of the loads that have pressed down his aspirations and held him from his destiny. They have to introduce him into higher dispensations, intellectually and morally. By the silent teachings of our example the world is awakening to the evils of absolutism as a foe that would rule the present by the past, and perpetuate a combination of puerilities and wrongs that are doomed to be associated with fossil remains.

A belief is prevalent that the enfranchisement of the world is drawing nigh, nor are they who believe this without grounds on which to rest their faith and build high their hopes. Everywhere men are beginning to feel that they are not made solely for rulers to sport with and prey on; to be drilled as gladiators for their pleasures and used as drudges for their profit; to have the most sacred of natural rights

taxed as privileges and endure an excise on existence. Better for millions had their organization been below the human type, than have the soul's impulses crushed and the chief purposes of life foregone in order to minister to the luxury and perpetuate power in the hands of the infandous.

The great reality of the age, the start taken by the species in social, civil, and intellectual advancement, is not more observable in the improved and improving condition of the arts than that it *originated in them*. The movement, too, not only began with, but its increasing momentum comes from them. If they flag, so must it; while they progress, nothing can retard it. But the prospect is joyous, for as respects them the cup of the future is brimming, and foaming, and sparkling, with hope. Never, before have draughts so refreshing, so pure and priceless, been brought within reach of human lips. To arrest them, enemies of progress should levy taxes on telegraphs, electricity, and steam, as they have done upon knowledge; or ask the Deity for their sakes to withdraw water and fire from the earth and lightning from the heavens.

To proclaim perfect, that is, absolute liberty to the sciences and arts, is to establish the sanctity of human rights on their surest, because their natural foundations. Had rulers never been permitted to meddle with them — to cripple under the pretence of protecting them — to smother genius while affecting to foster it — our current marvels had been developed years ago, and devices and discoveries yet in the womb of the future had been in universal use now.

Leave the arts free, and the world can never become a desert again. There can be no decay of nations without a decline in them; but when they are no longer fostered, or when such only are cherished as tend to aggrandize the great, empires *must* become extinct and their proudest monuments crumble away. Ancient legislators did not understand this, and the present disordered condition of a great part of the earth is the result of their ignorance. They preferred the exaltation of a class to that of the masses, mistook magnificence for power, and military force and idle display for prosperity. What are the accounts of their contests, and what the relics of their palaces and pyramids but monuments of their folly — sad reminiscences of populous cities, now desolate wastes — of people once mighty, now no longer known. Had they perceived that nothing can be lasting that is not beneficial to society at large, and had they under that conviction devoted the treasures they squandered to the general diffusion of science and art, the earth had not now been sprinkled with the tombstones of nations.

V.

THE MOTORS:

CHIEF LEVERS OF CIVILIZATION.

THERE is one subject more intimately allied than any other with progression, and of unrivalled interest in the present and prospective condition of the world, viz., that of *the Motors.* It is deemed not improper to dilate briefly on these chief levers of civilization, with the view of bringing them more immediately to the notice of inventors, and of invoking the attention of Congress to a series of proposed prizes for new prime-movers and other discoveries in science and art. A hint to the ingenious is as a word to the wise — to name desiderata has often led to their realization.

Physical forces are everything on our orb, as they must be on every other. It is motion that imparts vigor and beauty, animation and colors, to nature; and motions are merely manifestations of forces. Deprived of these, the earth, instead of her diversified harmonies, would present a lifeless and chaotic mass. There could be no transition or change; a breath could not blow, nor a tree grow, nor animals nor atoms move. They are the conservative agencies of creation, and the bases of even intellectual and moral development.

Of their nature little is known, save that, like most natural phenomena, they are infinitely diversified in their manifestations. Not amenable to any faculty of the senses, they are known only by their results. Apparently strangers to, yet they dwell and are energetically at work in the most silent and quiescent of bodies — ceaselessly decomposing and recomposing them, as well as the restless and the living. They whirl planets round their orbits, and children's tops on our floors — are disclosed in the movement of an eyelid, the buzzing of an insect's wing, the struggles of an elephant or a whale — in the sprouting of a plant, and the upheaval of a continent, in the imperceptible ascent of vapor, as in descending torrents, in combinations of acidulous and alkaline solutions, in the poles of a magnet, explosive mixtures, volcanoes, thunder, lightning, snow, hail, and whenever a change of temperature takes place.

The primal elements of civilization, it was necessary that chemical and mechanical forces should be found in abundance, so as to keep pace, *pari passu,* with man's progress. And such is the fact: the earth

is a storehouse of them, in which they are furnished, as it were in packages of all sizes, qualities, and intensities, so as to meet all possible exigencies. And it will appear that as he calls them into his service they become the proofs and the measure of his advancement, for in proportion as he employs them, intellectual and moral attributes accumulate upon him.

Inventions for modifying and conveying motion from one machine to another, or for distributing it to various parts of the same machine, frequently evince striking ingenuity; but the disclosure of useful forces indicates a higher order of research, and is fraught with vastly more important results. Improvements in mechanism are to a certain extent limited and local, but the advent of a new motive-agent would be felt throughout the circle of the sciences — as exemplified in the case of steam. It would open new channels of industry and wealth, and give rise to devices and applications novel and innumerable.

Man rises with the motors. His growth begins with them, and only as he extends their applications or adds to their number can he increase in real stature. Nothing can compensate for their absence, for nothing valuable can he acquire but through them. Steps of a ladder resting upon earth and reaching to heaven, he is, without them, an earth-worm, with them almost a God. His destinies are and ever must be bound up in them.

The chronology of human condition is comprehended in the cycles of the motors, and in them is that condition best studied and understood. We are not to suppose that the annals of nations are for ever to be meted out in petty dynasties, or those of the species by mere cycles of years; on the contrary, the probability increases that eras will be determined by revolutions in science, and the condition of generations measured by the chief motive-agents.

NONAGE OF THE MOTORS.

Take up man's biography where we will, the first page opens with him roaming the forest — an untutored animal, preying upon inferior tribes as they prey on one another. He knows no force but his own, dreams not of employing any, and hence is his own servant in everything. By-and-by, as game becomes shy and scarce, he ekes out the means of living by cultivating a patch of mandioca or maize — using a stake for a plough and a shell for a sickle. In this condition properties of some of the elementary machines unfold themselves, as those of the wedge, inclined plane, and lever. In his club he realizes those of the hammer, which has claims to a place among them. Still he remains a wild man — a savage. Such is the nonage of the motors, and such man's inevitable condition where they are not.

While there is a wide disparity between man's muscular power and the requirements of civilization, there is an observable proportion between it and his wants as an unreclaimed animal. The required outlay to procure the first necessaries is neither too much nor too little. In the savage and semi-savage condition he has strength to build a hut, hunt, dig, plant, and reap, a sufficiency for himself and family; but had these essential tasks required double the labor that they do, the race would have sunk under it ere the art of calling in foreign aid had been acquired. On the other hand if food, clothing, and fuel, had been attainable with half the exertion, indolence and every evil passion would have prevailed; hence the wisdom of Providence in forbidding the earth to yield the means of existence except in return for such an expenditure of labor as would train him in the first stages of his career to habits of industry and prepare him for disciplining higher faculties by another species of activity.

It is true the amount of indispensable labor differs in different parts of the earth. In the torrid zone the soil is prolific, fruits are perennial and in rich abundance, little is required for shelter and less for clothing; an equalizing principle is, however, everywhere apparent. There men are less able to work, and their energies are sooner exhausted than in temperate climes, but exertion is inevitable. They are also forced to labor in order to live.

ERA OF ANIMAL FORCES.

In the next stage he plants more and hunts less. The social qualities of his being open, and higher views of existence flit before him. His hut in the woods is abandoned for the village-cabin. Primitive manufactures arise, improve, and multiply. Agriculture is more and more appreciated, and with increasing demands for it, the value of labor is felt: he wants more than he has; human strength is not great and is soon exhausted; in his need he reflects, and reflection brings help. There are quadrupeds stronger than he, and of greater endurance; why should they idle away their existence and he be compelled to daily toil? Why not make some of them work for him?

Thus he reasons, and, according to climate and other exigences, acts. Hence Laplanders yoke reindeer, and Esquimaux dogs to their sledges. The Arab early seized the dromedary and camel as his drudges, and other people the ox. The slender Hindoo and the lithe Malay bring in the elephant from his native jungles for the same purpose. Finally, the horse, mule, and ass, were added to the list, and the era of animal forces exhibited in relief.

Other creatures were also educated for man's profit or pleasure in a

less general way. Goats and dogs were trained to climb in tread-wheels, and bears were broken in to the same kind of labor by Scandinavian tribes. Then there was hawking, leopard-hunting, and fishing with cormorants, as still practised by the Chinese. Old Egyptians taught baboons to gather fruit from precipices and trees inaccessible to man. The Chinese still employ them and monkeys at similar work.

From the excess of power with which some animals are endowed, it may be inferred that they were designed to serve as co-laborers with man. Were this not so, it would be difficult to assign the reason why the larger quadrupeds that have been domesticated possess a surplus of strength far beyond what their natural emergencies require, while to us who stand in the greatest need of it, so small a share has been given. As all active forces on the globe are derived from bodies living, or inert, it was Nature's suggestion first to turn to the larger quadrupeds; the most decided step this toward civilization! In what a lamentable state would our species be now, had it yet to be taken! From the comparative docility of disposition herbiverous tribes were properly selected.

The power exercised by man over animals is one of the most remarkable episodes in his history. It is miraculous, but, like other miracles, having become familiar it ceases to surprise. They are plastic almost as clay in his hands, for he models them as his fancy and wishes suggest. Selecting some as laborers he adds muscle and bone or withdraws them as strength or speed is required. Thus he produces race and draught horses from one stock and works equal changes in porcine, bovine, ovine, and canine families. Of fowls, take pigeons for example; their figures are so far under his control that he multiplies varieties till every apparent affinity with the original is lost: their colors, too—producing spots where he pleases, or, as the professional expression is, breeding these birds "to a feather."

Large numbers of animals are employed as chemical manipulators for the productions of such substances as he finds useful for his purposes, and which he compels them to yield in larger quantities than they would or could give out without him. He controls the qualities of these products also; eliciting in excess constituent elements that he most desires. Of insects he keeps myriads at work as confectioners—other tribes as spinners, and others again as druggists to supply him with dyes. We may boast of interesting compounds which modern chemistry has furnished, but what are they compared to the products of these living laboratories—laboratories, the most valuable of which he has improved and multiplied, and will, until analogous results, at a cheaper rate, are obtained from artificial apparatus.

Had nothing been told us of ancient American arts, we might have inferred the amount of refinement pervading Chili and Peru from one

fact alone — the employment of the Llama as a beast of burden, the only one within reach;—a step this, which tribes wholly untutored never took. The aborigines of the north had the bison, and in the proportion that its strength exceeds that of the American camel, would they have excelled their austral kindred, had they broken it to the yoke. They neglected to improve the talent committed to their charge, and are compelled to make way for those who will. The bison, for unknown ages, has been used in tilling the soils of Asia and Africa; had our Indians pressed it into the same service here, they would not now be as fugitives and vagabonds in the land of their fathers.

The vast multitudes of bisons slain yearly, the ceaseless war carried on against them, if continued, threatens their extermination, and must hereafter cause deep regret. It has been remarked that every addition a country receives from art tends to drive away animals fitted only to flourish in a state of nature; but here, in the absence of art, the very agents to introduce it — creatures adapted above all others to human servitude — are wantonly destroyed. Their great strength and docility, when tamed, and their capacity for being drilled to the yoke, ought surely to put some limit to their wholesale butchery. Savages kill them for food, while men of another shade, who ought to know better, join in the slaughter for the pleasure of the hunt, and sometimes, it would seem, for material for a paragraph.

What one offender has said is applicable to thousands. Describing the grand and terrible bearing of an old bull tearing up the ground; how one ball was flattened by, without penetrating the skull, how a second barrel drove another bullet into the victim's vitals and brought on its dying agonies — he adds: "I was satisfied, and taking the tongue, the hunter's perquisite, retired." Rejoining his party, who had abundance of food, he left the carcass, as is usual, for vultures and bears.

But for this genius, it is doubtful if man had ever permanently emerged from the forest. As the first ordained and most profitable of his assistants for working the soil, it should never be said that the noblest of American indigenous ruminants have become extinct. As predial laborers, they belong to the most precious of quadrupedal existences, and, viewed in that character alone, their wanton destruction should be arrested. Reproductive locomotive engines, they offer a power available to turn the wildernesses and prairies they inhabit into cornfields and gardens.

"Onward!" is the standing order of God. Those who refuse to obey must be pushed aside; such is the inflexible fiat of Heaven. They who prostrate their judgment to their sympathies are at a loss to reconcile the melting of the red race, and the seizure of their lands

by the whites, with a superintending Providence. How so terrible a catastrophe as the disinheriting and consequent annihilation of the entire occupants of half the globe can accord with Divine justice, or how the righteous and Supreme Arbiter permits it, they can not see; simply because they have yet to learn that the Creator has ordained distinct and independent laws for the material as for the moral world; and that obedience to one class can not, under any contingencies, compensate for neglect of the other, nor evade nor diminish the consequences of their violation. The action of those relating to external nature can neither be arrested nor accelerated by principles of ethics; the wicked who obey them will prosper, the righteous that neglect them must perish. No man's virtue makes his body bullet-proof, nor can the better qualities of an ignorant, idle, roving race, induce God to throw the world off its hinges to indulge them for ever in such habits. Races and nations are saved by works, not by faith.

INORGANIC MOTORS.

Human and animal powers are limited, require replenishing by food and rest, are uncertain from sickness and casualties, unequal and quickly worn out. Had none but such been within our reach, civilization had been arrested ages ago. It was necessary in order to fulfil his destiny that other than living forces should be under man's control; and in the acts of discovering and applying them, his character and energies were progressively to ripen. The first of the kind were forces naturally excited and ready for his service.

WATER.

Observing minds from the beginning noticed the momentum of water in cataracts, rapids, and quick-running streams; nor could those of an inventive turn fail to perceive its application to laborious operations in the arts. A stream that hurried along trees and other heavy bodies, would easily sweep round a few boards arranged around an axle and made to dip in it—an under-shot wheel. The first motive water-wheel mentioned in history, was suspended between two boats moored in a current—though asses and mules had previously, to some extent, relieved Roman women from the eternal toil of the quern. Breast and over-shot wheels quickly met the diversified conditions of motive-fluids.

A canal enthusiast once declared his convictions that rivers were made to supply artificial conduits: had he said the surface of the earth was broken into mountains and valleys with the view of affording its occupants motive-powers in running and falling waters, he had been full as near the truth.

In the case of water we have an early example how, as knowledge increases, man rises from the driving to the superintendence of machines. In the first stages of his career he is of necessity a painful toiler, but as new forces are found out he exchanges the drudgery of of a slave for the dignity of a director. Instead of consuming his sinews and marrow in gross unmechanical strivings, his intellect is brought into action, and teaches him by merely opening a water-gate, or stops of other motive reservoirs, to call into service energies surpassing those of thousands of men — to make a gas or a liquid do the work of many human machines. He then begins to comprehend that Nature has not intended him to labor as a brute any longer than till he learns to manage other energies which she has placed at his disposal. Many ancient people excelled in mechanical arts, but were blind to the application of inanimate motors. Cities and hamlets were located on the banks of rapid streams, yet the weaker sex had daily to bear water from them for domestic uses — the liquid power meanwhile running unheeded by.

WIND.

At what period wind was first seized as a servant no reliable accounts are extant — certainly not as an established one, until animals had long been enslaved. Sailing-vessels have been impelled by it since the birth of navigation, but as a driver of stationary mechanism it is supposed to have been little used by the ancients. Be this as it may, they who first drove machinery by aqueous and aerial currents conferred incalculable good on their kind. The species made a greater leap than ever before. To compel unconscious matter to do man's bidding — making gales and gushing torrents pause to labor for him; with an energy, too, surpassing that of living laborers — was a new idea, and one of a higher type than previous millwrights had sought for. That idea and its realization opened the epoch of inorganic motors.

It was natural that the two grand fluids of our earth, the most abundant and palpable, should head the list of the inorganics. Everywhere their efforts were seen and felt, and from the beginning they had courted man's attention. In gentle ripples one would dance before him, and with increasing force run past him; here it swelled and boiled and foamed, and there, with resistless might, swept all before it. In like manner the other constantly reminded him of what it could do for him if he would; whispering in zephyrs as if to persuade him — murmuring in the breeze, then screeching in the gale at his indifference — and now and then resenting his neglect to profit by it, by unroofing his dwelling or prostrating his forests and fences. A dull pupil, Nature has had to flog knowledge into him — to awaken his energies by his necessities — by his fears as well as by his hopes.

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Not till water and wind mills were called in to assist him, could man be said to have fairly left semi-barbarism behind him — nay, scarcely that, for the Chinese, the oldest of existing people — the most mechanical, and who have brought down not a few antediluvian arts — have them, and they are not much beyond it.

FORCES ARTIFICIALLY EXCITED.—STEAM.

Nature provides in everything for man till he is able to depend upon himself. Her aid is designed gradually to unfold his resources and lead him to rely upon them. Preceding motors he found ready to his hands, but the exigencies of advancing society made demands which they could not meet. Progress was to be arrested, or he must discover and render available a new one. In what direction should he turn but to the forces which lay sleeping in inert matter? Of the existence of some he was well aware; of their adaptation to his purposes he had received many intimations, while experience, in rendering available the grosser fluids, prepared him successfully to excite and control some of them. His efforts were rewarded beyond the wildest of his hopes. Steam, the most potent and pliable of motors, has worked, and is working miracles in his behalf.

Whatever may be thought of other ameliorating influences, inorganic forces artificially awakened will ever be the foremost of the civilizers — the steeds to draw society's car onward; and of them relays are assuredly provided, so that whenever one becomes fully used up, the most made of it, another will be ready for the harness. We see what the first of this class has done — advanced us farther in an age than was ever before accomplished in a hundred. We have run where our forefathers crept. But unparalleled as are the effects of steam, its moral influence is still more precious. In rousing mankind from the listlessness of olden times, it has opened sources of endless acquisitions; has given us a standard more elevated than was before thought of, by which to measure ideas and expectations of the future; raised the screen from before a prospect exceeding in brilliance aught that had been reflected on the mental retina, and established the great truth on which human progress depends—"*when man wills, matter must obey.*"

Thus it is that though few, as yet, and making their appearance after long intervals, the motors are the real sources and true registers of civilization. Marking a regular progression, each elevates man higher in the scale than its predecessor. In their nonage his knowledge is little more than instinct; in the subjection of animals to labor his intellect awakens, becomes inquisitive as inorganic forces are realized, and since aqueous vapor has become a popular motor, the mental torpidity of

previous epochs is in a great degree cast off and inquiry on the alert in every department of research. That the next which comes in will be attended with results equally marked, there is no room to question.

Every motor is known to add to the value of those that preceded it, either by leading to new properties in them, or by furnishing additional means of economizing and transmitting them, and thereby enlarging the area of their operations.

With steam a change full of promise has come over the world, such as philosophers and statesmen of former times could neither anticipate nor appreciate. Henceforth, nations, aware of their true policy, will strive with each other in conquests over Nature. Her unexplored realms will be invaded, and priority of discovery rewarded with laurels unstained by a tear, and such as angels might covet.

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE.

It is obvious that no motor less valuable than steam can be allowed to displace it; still, several may excel it in certain qualities, though less efficient on the whole, and these will assuredly be admitted as aids, if not as principals. In looking around for such as are not confined to places, as water, nor to times and seasons, as winds, there is one which costs nothing to carry about with us, and requires not the removal of machinery or materials to meet it. Where man is, it is; go whither he will, he can not leave it behind him. More faithful than his dog, it is ever at his side; an eternal source of mechanical power, omnipresent, illimitable, constant, free to all people, common to sea and land, easily excited and of endless application.

And what is this but the bland and silent firmament, which, pressing with the weight of a tun on every foot of surface exposed to it, offers a power adapted apparently to every exigence, one whose intensity can be modified indefinitely—pushing, if we wish it, imperceptibly as the falling dew, and, at our nod, descending, resistless as an avalanche. The breath of living mechanisms, why should it not become the animating spirit of artificial ones? What is there to hinder atmospheric pressure from being adopted as a common, if not a general motor? Little is wanted to make it one—a cheap and quick process of exciting it, being alone required.

The sea is the receptacle of the world's waters, the firmament of its gases. All substances are worn and washed into one, and all exhale into the other. We detect the latter in what are called odorous bodies, and we might do so in all bodies, were it not for the obtuseness of our senses. Had human organs been fitted for micographic observation, the color and taste of air had not eluded them. The ceaseless stream-

ing upward of every variety of vapor, makes the atmosphere one of the most complex of compounds; yet the mixture is found to be made up of two ingredients chiefly—oxygen and nitrogen, with a very slight dash of water and a much slighter of carbonic acid—a result, however, of approximate analysis. Further researches will lessen or enlarge the number of constituents, ascertain their qualities as well as quantities, and most likely disclose the means of producing among them instantaneous collapsion; *i. e.*, will enable us to call into instant action the air's pressure on one side of a piston by destroying it at the other.

Could we by decomposition annihilate the air in a given space, or by some quick process displace it, we should have a power adapted to most of the purposes to which steam is applied, and to others to which it is inapplicable; a power as ready to act in a parlor as in a workshop, above the earth as beneath it or upon it, and one which can be invoked to any degree of intensity from the suspension of a fly to the overthrowing of a mountain. Difficulties in the way present no formidable aspects but rather court attempts to remove them.

We already know the capabilities of atmospheric pressure, since to it the first steam-engines owed all their efficacy and to it not a few are still indebted. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more glorious source of mechanical force than the soft, invisible and quiet fluid in which we live and move; attending us everywhere and ready to obey the slightest invocation, it would seem designed for a universal motor. An object of more legitimate and high ambition no chemist can desire to achieve, than that of economically and rapidly displacing air from a cylinder without introducing another substance for the purpose. Accomplish this and human drudgery is at an end; ignorance and crime, our race's jailers loosen their hold on their victims' throats and slink into outer darkness.

THE OCEAN.

Not only the aerial ocean which encompasses, but the denser one that forms so large a portion of our globe is destined to become a laborer for man. Nothing is more fitful in its habitudes and variable in its intensities than wind. It is the symbol of capriciousness, and hence the more reliable and manageable forces of running waters have justly had the preference, and hence mill-wrights and manufacturers roam the interior for chutes under which to place the buckets of one class of wheels, and husband brooks for whirling round the floats of others.

There are streams which throughout their length drive labor-saving machinery, but they and their accessories are tributaries to ONE in

whose presence they shrink into insignificance. Nature, in her teachings, leads inquiries from little to larger things, from particulars to generals. It is so with hydraulic motors. In every branch of philosophy and art one acquisition clears the way for, and hastens the advent of another. Having turned rivers and rivulets upon our motive wheels, the restless ocean itself will in time become subjected to human vassalage, as well as fire, air, earths, lightning, &c. Adapted to ten thousand purposes, to propel all descriptions of stationary mechanism, it can not much longer be left to expend its momenta in vain. Washing all lands, its shores will become fringed with manufacturing mechanism, driven by ordinary and tidal waves, either directly, or through the medium of compressed air, by the gravity of descending or the upward force of swelling surges—probably by all.

Steam can not be too highly regarded, yet it is costly; atmospheric pressure, too, requires as yet expensive apparatus to excite and employ it; but the waves of the sea are open to the poor, and, being restless, are ever ready to work. A simple device, then, by which to transmit their energy to revolving or alternating mechanism, is wanted; and a greater benefactor has, perhaps, not lived than he who best solves the apparently simple problem. It would be long ere the curtain of oblivion dropped over his name.

Till our times, the human mind seems not to have sufficiently matured to attempt the conquest of such a power. There is no reason why it should not now be made to give motion to mills and animate looms and spindles. All force is derived from matter in motion; why then neglect the greatest of terrestrial moving masses? Three fourths of the earth's surface ceaselessly surging to and fro, rising and falling, rolling on and lashing them in vain. It can not, however, be long neglected. The searching, sifting, and daring spirit of philosophical enterprise will not rest until the chiefest and mightiest of visible motors, which God has placed at our disposal, be brought into the service of the arts.

There is no hazard in asserting that none of the ordinary modes of employing water as a motor are perfected. An interesting illustration of this is furnished in the reacting water-wheel, which, till recently, has been little else than a toy in the lecture-room. As exemplified in the turbine, the same principle has yielded eighty per cent. of the power employed, and in some cases is said to have run it up to near ninety —a result almost incredible, and one that strongly admonishes us critically to investigate every source of mechanical force with a view to its economization. Prime movers are too precious gifts to be but half used up, under the constantly increasing requirements of civilization.

The turbine elucidates a truth which inventors, above all other men, should cherish. It is this: There is no natural force, no matter how

discouraging or forbidding the circumstances under which it is exhibited, but what may, by appropriate mechanism, be turned to account. And, so far from regretting the supposed difficulties in the way, they ought rather to be welcomed, since they invariably serve as keys to open new doctrines in science and art. In mountainous districts are falls of water far too high for overshot-wheels, and in low lands slugged streams glide on, too inert for undershots; but turbines have been impelled by falls less than twelve inches, while others are worked under columns varying from fifty to four hundred feet.

EXPLOSIVE FORCES.

Repeated attempts to derive a useful motor from explosive compounds were made during the last century. No devices were matured, not because of insuperable difficulties to be overcome, but principally on account of the increasing popularity of steam. It was doubtful that any competing energy could stand before that agent; but now things are different. Steam-engines have been greatly improved and extended, and the arts have reached a point where a more portable power has become greatly desirable. It is only as the requirements of advancing society present new exigencies, and such as current forces can not meet, that we begin to look seriously for others.

Though few have been developed, explosive forces are beyond question multitudinous, and include every imaginable quality and intensity. No systematic inquiry into their various natures and numbers has been undertaken—it is not time yet for that—nor into the means of drilling them to useful labor. Many persons have supposed them untameable; that their fitful violence incapacitated them for working steadily as other inorganic servants do;—an error, certainly. There is no active energy, revealed or to be revealed, no matter how refractory in its habits or paroxysmal in its manifestations, but will be subdued by man. It is his mission to make them all subservients. Give him time. Crumbling Cheops was not raised in a day, nor are the lasting edifices of civilization and science to be finished in a century. Some imagine their spires are already penetrating the clouds, while, in reality, it is their foundation courses only that are laid.

GUNPOWDER.

At periods, too remote to be ascertained with precision, explosive mixtures were used. Of these gunpowder is best known. Others have passed away while demands for it have been swelling at a fearful rate—fearful, since it has long been dedicated to destructive purposes,

for which it is held of paramount necessity. The scourge of our race, it might have been a chief good; a precious gift of science, it has been prostituted to a purpose the most wicked that man can conceive, or evil spirits suggest.

So common and cheap as power is, it is difficult to realize the value of the device that locks up the strength of giants in a few quiescent grains, and releases it at pleasure; a power that instantaneously dilates into a space two thousand times greater than it slept in. Instead of projecting missiles of death, it might, if properly employed, extend and refine every enjoyment of life. Had a tithe of the treasure and thought expended during the last three or four centuries on extending the rage and effect of firearms, been devoted to the application of powder as a mover of machinery, society would probably have been equally advanced as it is, if even steam had not been subdued. Strange as the operation may appear, gunpowder and its affinitives have in them elements calculated to contribute as great good to man, as they have heretofore engendered evil.

Gun-tow or cotton, the first of a new class of explosives, seems more promising than gunpowder. Neat, clean, light, and leaving scarcely any residia; ingenious men are already engaged upon it. There is more virtue in a few bales than can be extracted from cargoes of coal and tuns of water. As with gunpowder, it requires no ponderous or complex machinery to disclose and transmit it. Like its predecessor, too, it has been seized by those who destroy without compunction, human beings as vermin, and from its applicability to internicine work has received its prenomen. Cotton now clothes a large portion of the human family, for which purpose it is held in importance second only to food: if to this it can be made to work for us, to relieve from debasing toil the millions that pass through life tugging with brute force, straining their heart-strings, and gasping from exhaustion, a halo will gather round the head of him whose inventive skill compels it to do this, that will never vanish.

MEANS OF EMPLOYING EXPLOSIVES.

Some may ask how are forces which present no transition between quiescence and flashes of rage to be applied? How deduce uniform movements from fits of convulsion, or by what reins are these startling, impulsive steeds to be managed, and by what traces yoked? Answer.—Present to engineers a more economical force than any they have, and they will not be long in finding out means of turning it to advantage. Withdraw all they have, except what they could make out of powder and cotton, and few years would pass away ere these were numerous

as those in use. A little reflection will show that there is no serious obstacle to the practical solution of the problem. For example; what material difference is there between driving a ball out of a gun and a piston through a cylinder? The apparatus for both are very closely allied—in substance the same. Fasten two bullets to a couple of ramrods and charge two guns with them; connect the upper ends of the rods with the extremities of a vibrating beam; fire off the balls alternately, without allowing them (by the play of the beam) to pass beyond the muzzles, and you have an engine differing but little from a high-pressure steam one, save in the moving force. A gun-barrel is a working cylinder, the bullet a piston, and the rammer a piston-rod.

In what manner neutralize the violence of such motions? By adapting the charge to the resistance, so that no more force be excited than can be turned to account. How bring the rushing ball or piston gradually to rest?—for unless that is done no machine could long withstand the shocks of pistons shot through cylinders.—By making the upper parts of piston-rods themselves into pistons of air-condensing pumps, that when forced into their cylinders the increasing resistance from the compressed air may bring them by degrees to rest; the subsequent expansion serving to drive them back to receive a fresh charge. In this way a reciprocating movement of one or more pistons may be safely kept up, and a continuous rotary one derived from it by any of the numerous methods of conversion.

Such examples may suffice to explain the practicability of explosive motors. There are few ingenious men but could devise several modes of employing the force of a ball, or of powder or cotton without it. Difficulties of construction and arrangement are nothing in the way of securing a good prime mover whenever attention is fairly drawn to it. Every defeat with true genius is a *point d'appui* on which it plants itself to overcome new obstacles.

ELECTRIC MOTORS.

The belief is a growing one that electricity in one or more of its manifestations, is ordained to effect the mightiest of revolutions in human affairs. In subtlety and power, in excitability, rapidity, and intensity of action, there is nothing like it—nothing revealed or probably to be revealed. Its complete subjugation may be held as the climax of conquests in art, the apex of ambition in science—so blessed and boundless, so surpassing all anticipations, are the seeming results that must follow. When in addition to what it is now performing as a messenger—one swifter than those of the gods, and more reliable than the boasted Ariels of poets—it can be drawn cheaply from its hiding-places and made to propel land and water chariots, animate manufac-

turing mechanisms, become an agricultural laborer and a household drudge of all-work, then we may begin to think the genius of civilization is vaulting rapidly toward the zenith.

Several years ago the discovery of *Electro-Magnetism* awakened sanguine expectations that in it would be found a prime mover so compact and energetic as to be adapted to general purposes. No sooner was the fact made known, that soft iron is rendered intensely magnetic by the galvanic or voltaic pile, than hosts of mechanicians in both hemispheres were at work endeavoring to transmit the enormous power thus developed to motive machinery. Though exhibited in a variety of apparatus, the principle by which motion is obtained from it is the same in all; one or more magnets are *fixed* and serve as fulcra on which others turn. Thus Professor Henry first produced reciprocating motion, by arranging an electro-magnet in the manner of a balance-beam above the opposite poles of two permanent magnets—keeping up oscillation by alternately breaking and renewing the connection with the battery.

Rotary motion is attained by so arranging two circles (or portions of circles) of magnets, one within the other that the faces of those which revolve may sweep round those that are immovable, and as near as can be without touching. By a series of cut-offs, the stream of electric fluid is alternately let off and excluded, so that each face of a revolving magnet is pulled in succession toward each of the fixed ones, and as it passes is pushed away toward the next.

While in some machines permanent are employed in connection with electro magnets, in others, the latter are only used. Change of polarity is abandoned in some and with it the repellant force; the bars being rapidly magnetized and de-magnetized by opening and closing their connection with the battery.

In 1838, Jacobi propelled a small shallop with fourteen men, on the Neva, at the rate of four miles an hour, three against the stream. He had four fixed electro-magnets, and the same number of revolving ones, to which the axle that carried the paddle-wheels was attached. His battery, consisting of sixty-four pairs of platinum plates, each presenting a surface of thirty-six square inches, was charged with nitric and sulphuric acids, on Groves's plan. Since then innumerable modifications of the apparatus have been devised; lathes have been worked, and articles of wood, ivory, and metals, turned; a printing press operated, and a locomotive weighing five tons, propelled, &c., &c. But these experiments, interesting as they certainly were, have brought out no marked results, nor afforded any high degree of encouragement to proceed. It might be imprudent to assert that electro-magnetism can never supersede steam; still, in the present state of electrical science, the desideratum is rather to be hoped for than expected.

Great, however, will be his glory who in the face of these discouragements succeeds.

The difficulty is not in the mechanism for employing the force, but in the extremely short space through which it acts. This is so limited that the phenomenon may be considered something like the converse of cohesion: *e. g.* an electro-magnet with its armature in contact had a lifting power of 1,700 lbs., but when the armature was removed one eighth of an inch, the weight supported was barely 15 lbs. The interposition of a film of tissue paper has reduced the power one half. By making a soft iron core play in the centre of a helix, like a piston-rod—minus the piston playing in its cylinder—an apparent increase of range is obtained, a stroke of twelve or more inches realized; but this is supposed to be colorable rather than real.

At the present cost of metallic fuel, electro-magnetism can not become *commercially* valuable, nor in any of the ordinary applications of steam come into competition with that agent—not even if the requisite acids could be had for nothing, since there is more virtue in a pound of coal than in five of zinc.

Either the science is not ripe for application, or experimenters have not got on the right track. It is not devices for transmitting the force that are wanted, but means of extending the range through which it acts. Should this be obtained, readier and cheaper means of exciting it will probably follow.

The talent for inventing new modes of employing forces is great, but that of discovering new motors, and applying them to the general purposes of engineering, is far greater. One is somewhat common, the other rare. A new power is now wanted, is looked for, and what a field of enterprise will its introduction open! Every department of mental and physical existence will be benefited by it. Steam has wrought gloriously, and equal changes for the better will be wrought by that agent which displaces it, or which takes a place beside it.

ATMOSPHERIC OR COMMON ELECTRICITY.

There are indications of a law by which every motor must come in its own order. If it appears before its time, it will partake more or less of the character of an abortion. It will be imperfectly developed, its habitudes not understood, and the means of controlling them, wanting. This was the case with steam, whose mechanical properties the ancients detected, yet they were not prepared for it. In their hands its application was confined to trifles, and even for them soon laid aside. Such was the case with explosive compounds also, and to some extent it is the case now with electricity.

That this piercing and potent energy is ordained to play a prominent part in the arts as it does in nature, is all but certain; perhaps as multifarious in its operations too. Already, it separates metals from their ores, and gilds our plate; in telegraphs, it annihilates time, and in electric clocks, measures it: as an element for artificial illumination, it is now being courted, and may, at no distant day be used to light up the atmosphere over cities, in place of myriads of petty tapers. For other purposes also, the most sagacious of spirits are endeavoring to subdue it.

But, if inorganic motors are to come in their turn, that is, according as preparations are made to receive them, or, in other words, not until a previous familiarity with their natures has fitted us properly to apply them, it is hardly to be expected that we should so soon realize what seems to be the highest, and which, of all earthly things, we, as yet, know least about. It is the part of philosophers to reveal principles—of mechanics to apply them; but, philosophers as yet, know little more about electricity than do artificers.

While some are sanguine of soon yoking this invisible steed in material traces, and compelling it to work as do grosser motors—others incline to the opinion that the chief of earthly conquests is not to be made so readily. Certes, when electricity is brought into man's service as a common worker, all that may come after must needs be subordinates. When this ubiquitous, exhaustless, imponderable, incorruptible something—agent, spirit, substance, or whatever it be—becomes so far subdued, men will have progressed, one would suppose, beyond terrestrial, and entered upon celestial physics.

The pursuit is, however, a legitimate one, and neither repeated nor long-continued failures can be attended with dishonor. Success is a matter of time—if not now to be obtained, it will be—must be. The difficulty with electro-magnetism—the short distance through which the force is felt—belongs, not to the ordinary phases of the fluid in Nature's exhibitions. She causes it to act through greater spaces than can ever be required in the arts, and as a further inducement for us to persevere, she shows its energy under circumstances where it might have been least suspected—circumstances, it were well for inventors to study: we must first understand her operations before we can successfully imitate them.

Pervading all things, nothing is, and nothing moves without it. Recently, it has been detected issuing in showers from rushing streams, while a thimbleful of water is known to contain enough to shake both earth and heaven. Its dynamic effects are seen in leagues of prostrated forests—at other times in unroofing and overthrowing dwellings: its expansive power in rocks and trees it splits into shivers; sometimes, too, in forcing outward the sides of buildings. Three years ago, the stone

steeple of a church was burst asunder during a thunder-storm, the walls being dispersed in every direction. One hundred tons of stone were blown to a distance of thirty yards, in three seconds—exhibiting a mechanical force calculated to have exceeded that of over twelve thousand horses.

A power that does these things, and greater, only wants to be understood to make it turn our carriage, paddle, and mill wheels. There is enough to turn them for ever, can we but find out the means to tame it. It is sound philosophy, that all the mechanical performances of nature (not excepting that of lightning) are imitable, and also applicable to human purposes.

To show us what else it can do, Nature diversifies the experiment thus: thrusting down a portion of a cloud in the form of an elongated tube, till the orifice approaches the surface of the sea, tuns upon tuns of water visibly ascend into the nebulous reservoir above. When this is filled, the strange duct gathers itself up to its parent-body, and, then the whole is borne away to fill the pitchers of Aquarius. Here we have the phenomenon of water beginning to boil and leap as the hose descends, impatient as it were to rush through it. When engineers become *au fait* in repeating similar experiments, overshot motive-wheels may become as numerous in deserts, as by the sides of rivers. In water-spouts, the process is open to observation from beginning to end—still it is an unsolved problem.

To conclude:—Notwithstanding those of bygone and the more successful inquiries of recent days, but exceedingly few of her secrets have yet been drawn out of nature. Environed by her, it is but little that is comprehended of what she is doing above, beneath, about us; yea, with us and within us—little of the grand scheme of creation and of principles and processes at work in it. Our wisest men are but pupils in normal schools—freshmen in their rudiments. True, we know much compared with the deplorable ignorance of the past, yet what we have acquired is only the A B C of either science or art. Those who fondly imagine the arts at their culmination, and steam the last of inorganic motors, would shrink with awe, could they contemplate the grandeur of human destiny, in an epoch of which our day is but the dawning.

And, certainly, whoever confers this splendid gift of a new motor on the world, will be ranked with the noblest of earth's sons. The goal is a tempting one, and the more so since the keenest spirits in two hemispheres are striving to reach it. We are ignorant who will receive the crown, but we know who will not, viz., those who pay divine honors to pelf, and whose aspirations never soar above the sensualities of vulgar ambition. Generally, the rich revelations of science are made to those who love them for themselves, not for what

they can be sold for. They come down to those who seek them, who, by industrial study and research, struggle to find them out, and who prize them when found, as expressions of Divine thoughts for the good of the species.

For months past, crowds have been hastening across every latitude, on their way to the newly-discovered realms of gold. An epidemic rages to gather and hoard that, which, except as a symbol, has no more value than its weight of inert sandstone or granite. A people's treasure is in useful labor; there is no wealth, and can be none but what it creates. Every good, great, or small, is purchased by it. Savages with boundless territories and fertile lands, are indigent and often destitute because they work not. A single day's labor of a peasant or a mechanic, tends to relieve human wants and increase human comforts. It produces that which is not to be had without it, and to which tons of glittering ore can contribute nothing. In fine, there is no wealth but labor — no enjoyments but what are derived from it.

But, to those who are ambitious of ennobling themselves and really enriching their country, *placers* inexpressibly more precious than any to be found on the Sacramento, are invitingly open. Let them dig in THE MINES OF THE MOTORS, and they will bring to light, active, fruitful, and everlasting sources of true opulence.

VI.

PROPOSED APPLICATIONS OF THE PATENT FUND.

I. PUBLICATION OF THE SPECIFICATIONS AND DRAWINGS.

II. PREPARATION OF A GENERAL, ANALYTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE INDEX OF INVENTIONS.

III. INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL PRIZES.

PROPOSED APPLICATIONS OF THE PATENT FUND.

Of the disposal of the Patent Fund, patentees have ever been jealous; but if they have complained of drafts made on it to subserve other interests, it was because of their anxiety to have it expended in such a way as to meet the cordial assent of all classes of society: one associated with the interests and honor of all.

The Patent-Office is a self-sustaining institution: its receipts exceed its expenditures, and have exceeded them for several years. The surplus money paid in by inventors, and known as the Patent Fund, amounted on the 1st of January, 1849, to \$216,468$\frac{83}{100}$. Of this sum \$50,000 were appropriated by Congress at the last session toward defraying the cost of the additions to the building, recently commenced, and have been withdrawn on that account—a diversion of the funds which is believed by inventors to be unjust.

These additional structures are not required for the proper business of the office, but are intended to accommodate other branches of the government, and those better able to pay for them. After contributing \$108,000 to erect the present building, it is deemed manifestly wrong to absorb what has always been considered the inventors' own fund, to increase the facilities of other departments. When the upper saloon of the present building (more than one third and by far the best part of the whole)—temporarily occupied by the collection of the Exploring Expedition and the National Institute, is restored to the office, on the completion of the Smithsonian Institute, to which the collection is to be removed—no further accommodation as regards room will be required by this bureau. The undersigned therefore asks, in the name of the inventors of the Union, a restoration of the sum withdrawn, and authority to devote the fund to purposes more immediately connected

with the progress of science and art. The amount of the Patent Fund, January 1, 1850, was, as already stated, $169,505\frac{17}{100}$.

The fifth and sixth sections of the act of Congress establishing the Smithsonian Institution, provide for the "erection of a suitable building for the reception and arrangement, upon a liberal scale, of objects of natural history, including a geological and mineralogical cabinet."

In the first annual report of the board of regents, it will be seen that a building was commenced with this view, a part of which was specially designed, and has been constructed to receive the "National Museum," which includes the collections now stored in the upper saloon of this office.

The building is so far advanced that it is believed if ordinary effort be made, the rooms designed for the Museum can be sufficiently completed to receive the collections in the course of the present year (1850), when the hall which they now occupy may be restored to the office for the display of its models.

It is most desirable that Congress should act on this matter at the present session, since the cost of finishing the buildings now commenced, and the remainder contemplated in the original plan, will require appropriations, it is understood, to an amount varying between five and six hundred thousand dollars: so that if the Patent Fund is to meet the demand to the utmost of its ability, it will be wholly swallowed up, and the cherished purposes of inventors with regard to it entirely frustrated.

There are several essential desiderata to make this bureau what it ought to be, and to some of them the Patent Fund, in the opinion of the undersigned, should chiefly be dedicated. Probably by no other channels of expenditure can the public and inventors themselves be so *immediately* and *enduringly* benefited—by none can more certain and rich returns be realized. Among them are—

I. PUBLICATION OF THE SPECIFICATIONS AND DRAWINGS.

In several respects this bureau, in its organization and practice, is in advance of patent-offices in other countries. According to antiquated fooleries about "divine rights," by which everything belonged to kings and nothing to the people—not even the fruits of their ingenuity—inventors abroad still pray for and accept patents as "special acts of a sovereign's grace:" with us the insulting and debasing proposition is effectually ignored. Not subjects, but freemen, inventors here claim and receive patents as of right—their own right.

Nor are they subjected to the claims of numerous offices, at each of which the ingenious of some lands are required to call and pay enor-

mous fees for no services rendered,* or for services next to none, ere the royal permission for a patent to issue can be obtained: a part this of that gigantic system of wrong by which the industrious have been taxed to support the vicious and idle—a system originating in times when the masses were acknowledged serfs, and cherished till it pervaded every industrial profession, and hung, as it still hangs, in many lands, a dark spectrum overshadowing human enterprise.

Our example in establishing a single and a moderate fee, and dedicating whatever surplus funds may accrue to the benefit of those from whom they were received, has awakened inquiry abroad, and led to comparisons and investigations which promise to result in modifications of exactions that have often reduced genius to beggary; and legal technicalities that have sent not a few of earth's purest spirits to harbor with maniacs. Any step toward the freedom of the arts—the universal emancipation of ingenuity—is matter of rejoicing to the friends of progress be it taken where it may.

In our extended Union one patent covers every state; but with some governments an invention, although new to every part of the country, can only be secured for the whole by taking out separate patents for

* This practice, and also one relating to legalized "expedition fees," are elucidated in the recent report of a committee appointed to inquire into the British Patent-Laws, with a view to their improvement and the removal of abuses.

"After the patent-bill is prepared, the patent is forwarded through the Signet and Privy Seal Offices?—Yes. That part of the proceeding is regulated by the statute of Henry VIII. is it not?—Yes, *entirely, and which was passed for the purpose of creating fees:* the 27th of Henry VIII., chapter 11, which requires that every patent should be brought to the clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal, and go through certain stages. Up to that stage, I believe, it is a matter of practice which the particular offices could control. From that stage it is a matter regulated *by an act of Parliament, passed simply for the sake of the fees, and is a very great hardship.* If you have two names, you have the expense very much increased; three, and so on, without any corresponding benefit or protection; in fact, the offices are absolutely useless.

"Is it not stated in the preamble to that statute, that the object is to increase the fees to the clerk at the Signet and the clerk at the Privy Seal Office? Yes; it states that the clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal give their daily attendance for great and weighty affairs, and have no fees 'other than cometh and groweth of the said Signet and Privy Seal.' And that statute was passed simply as a means of paying the clerks by requiring every grant to pass through their hands. They receive fees which are not specified on those grants."—*Evidence of Thomas Webster.*

"Are the proceedings at the Signet Office and the Privy Seal Office anything more than formal with regard to new inventions? *Nothing more than formal,* but they are dilatory. Great complaint has been made, and with reason, at the confinement to one seal-day in the week. The rule is to deposite the bill on Thursday at one o'clock, in order to be in time for the seal on Friday. If it passes over one o'clock on Thursday, it is delayed a week. The Privy Seal, however, may be obtained in a day, *on payment of five guineas as an* 'EXPEDITION FEE.'"—*Evidence of William Spence.*

separate sections—a practice acknowledged to have been instituted, and still clung to, for the purpose of extorting from inventors additional fees.

A foreign journalist, representing a city deeply interested in manufacturing improvements, "regards with satisfaction the recommendation of the committee on the Signet and Privy Seal Offices, to abolish the system of enforcing, for the sake of fees, separate patents for each of the three kingdoms."

"Any one," says the writer, "who is accustomed to glance at the pages of our scientific, and particularly of our mechanical serials, must be struck with astonishment and admiration at the inconceivable ability, manual skill, and even genius, continually striving to urge on the wheels of material improvement. There is no scheme too brilliant or too daring, no difficulty of execution too inextricable, to baffle or to daunt them. In the air, the water, and the earth, these spirits are continually toiling, wasting health and strength and means in some effort or another. It is little enough that when the object is attained, some interloper should not be suffered to step in, appropriate the invention, and intercept the profits. The law has wisely pronounced that enterprise shall have its reward in fourteen years' monopoly of any new and original invention. That is not much, but public policy will allow no more. It has always, however, been a hardship that an extravagant expense is requisite to procure a patent. Separate writs must be taken out for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and hundreds of pounds are swallowed up in procuring them. Not seldom a poor man is obliged to resign all the profit of his discovery from pure inability to take out the protection. That ought not to be; and no sophism has sufficed to convince us that any expense beyond the minimum possible cost is advisable in such cases. It is indeed said, that the charge prevents the inventors of trifles or insignificant plans from taking out patents. But it is as likely to prevent a very different class. It is a test utterly unsatisfactory in every respect, and should not be suffered to exist, especially when the abolition of protective laws has placed our own skill and industry in competition with those of the whole world. We therefore look with satisfaction on this recommendation."

The superiority of our system consists also in the rejection of intricate legal forms, so that every inventor of ordinary capacity may make out and pass through the office his own papers, without the intervention of attorney or agent:—also in the requirement of models, and their free examination—in the information and advice, verbally and by circulars, gratuitously given—access to the office library—and in the practice of examining into the novelty and value of devices and discoveries for which patents are asked. Not a week elapses without ingenious men being prevented from spending their money on patents,

by what they see and learn here. Every applicant in person is advised to look through the models, examine the specifications and claims on file, and the published reports of the office, before making application: it is perhaps superfluous to add that many who follow the advice see they are anticipated, and make no application at all. Surprised to find themselves on beaten tracks, instead of ranging, as they supposed, through untrodden fields, they have their attention turned to more promising directions, and a future waste of time and means prevented. But few inventors can afford the expense of travelling to and from the capital to make such inquiries.

But after all that can be said in favor of our practice, in one essential particular we are in the rear, viz.:—*In the publication of descriptions and drawings of inventions patented.* No greater boon could be conferred on inventors than an annual volume or two devoted to this purpose. For want of such a work, an incalculable amount of intellectual and physical effort; of time, money, material, and ingenuity, has been wasted within the last twenty years; while every day is adding to it and to the number of those who spend the best part of their lives in devising and maturing what has already been done. In no country do the ingenious labor under the disadvantage to so great a degree as in ours, although in none can sources of information be of more immediate and lasting benefit.

The publication of the specifications and drawings of patented inventions has for many years been practised in England, France, and most of the European states, as a part of the general system, legalized, for the protection of inventors and encouragement of useful arts. In England the publication is conducted by private enterprise, but in most other European states, it is obligatory, sometimes on the patentee, and sometimes on the government. From the etymology of the term, *Letters-patent* are letters which lie open; and in law the grant of the same is equivalent to publication; but in effect it is hardly so, as the archives of public offices are difficult of access, and the parchment in the hands of its possessor, is generally a sealed document to the world. The insertion, therefore, of suitable descriptions and illustrations, in some public journal, is necessary, to apprize the public of the progress of inventions, to prevent infringements through ignorance or mistake, to avoid occasions for contests upon priority of invention, and to save inventors the trouble and expense of wasting their energies upon what has already been secured to another. It also stimulates improvement, and awakens commendable emulation.

The following is an extract from the patent laws of Bavaria. Article 59. "Extracts from this Register [the official register of patents] ought to be inserted, periodically, in the most widely-circulated gazettes, in the journals of industry, and in the advertising papers of

the provinces. The Minister of the Interior ought to take care that the most extended publicity be given to the description of the objects invested with a patent, immediately after the expiration of the first three years—to be computed from the day of publication of the patent granted—in order to contribute the utmost possible to encourage the spirit of invention and extension of industry.

"The publication of discoveries, &c., at the term above fixed, can not be postponed by the Minister of the Interior, but in extraordinary cases, and for well-grounded reason—the patent sufficiently protecting the patentee against the infringement and violation of his privileges."

In some of the European states, the publication is not ordered until the expiration of the patent, that the public may then be informed of what has become of their property. In others, advertisement or publication is enjoined upon the patentee immediately after his patent is secured.

In the following countries specifications and drawings are published at the expense of government:—

Bavaria—three years after the grant.
France—after the first annuity is paid.
Belgium—after the expiration or forfeiture of the patent.
Netherlands—same as in Belgium.
Wurtemburg—optional with the government.
Roman States—after expiration.

In some cases all patents are published, in others, it is discretional with the minister, and, in others, certain inventions or classes are directed to be withheld.

The bill for the amendment of patent laws, introduced at the last session of Congress, proposed to authorize the Commissioner of Patents to publish such specifications and drawings as might be deemed expedient in the Journal of the Franklin Institute.

The importance of some medium of communicating to the public full descriptions of patented inventions, was urged upon Congress, by Messrs. Ellsworth and Burke; and its attention to the subject is again invited.

II. PREPARATION OF A GENERAL, ANALYTICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE INDEX OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS:—

An urgent desideratum in mechanical literature—the want of which is increasingly felt, day by day. Expensive as it will be, the world of inventors must have it. Of sufficient moment for the joint undertaking of enlightened nations, every people should feel the duty of contributing their appropriate share to a *précis* of the arts, science,

and manufactures of the planet;—a work that, above all others, would elucidate and serve to perpetuate the essential and progressive elements of civilization. It is due to remote posterity, that an account of what has been done, up to our day, should be transmitted, that it may be known how far the intellect of the species had expanded in the nineteenth century—to what extent the real sources of physical and mental elevation had been disclosed, and how far turned to account.

How much useful knowledge is lost by the scattered forms in which it is ushered into the world! For want of a condensed exhibition of what *is* known, how many solitary students spend half their lives in discovering what had previously been repeatedly ascertained! This thought, or something like it, of Buffon, is vastly more applicable to inventors than to *literateurs*—to our times than his. Knowledge is increasing at an unprecedented rate, but not near so fast as the means for circulating it. New books are being multiplied by tons, new thoughts, comparatively, by scruples, so that unless measures are taken to gather together and condense the useful matter in printed sheets, most of it will be lost by dilatation;—the best ideas will become diluted, and, at length, drowned in oceans of words.

An American section or chapter of the proposed compilation, would be of high and immediate value to this office, and to every inquiring mind in the Union. A gift also to the ingenious of the rest of the world, it would be acknowledged by similar presents sent us in return. With the information it should contain, applicants for patents would become their own examiners. Each could put his hand at once on what might otherwise require years to find, if found at all. Hence, before embodying his conceptions in expensive forms, he would ascertain their novelty, or want of it, and be led to proceed with confidence, or to abandon or modify his schemes.

However serviceable to applicants the appointment of examiner has proved, the system of search is necessarily defective for want of such a work. It is impossible in every case that comes before them, to wade through the numerous treatises, journals, foreign and domestic, encyclopedias, &c., and the piles of specifications and caveats in the office—their whole time would not suffice for this; yet to arrive at a safe conclusion, the contents should be known to them. Patents have been issued for devices, figured, and described in popular journals. A general and analytical index only can prevent this. For want of it, the labors of the examiners result in no permanent advantage to the public, the office, or to inventors, other than those on whose inventions they pass. No results are recorded, and hence (except when the memory of an examiner supersedes the necessity), the same routine of reference to serial and standard works, to models, specifications, &c., is without ceasing, repeated.

The process is not unlike that of supplying water to cities, located on the banks of rapid streams, by ladling it into vases borne through the streets on the heads of men and women; while, with the contemplated lexicon, it might be likened to the more philosophical and cheaper one of making the current itself send the fluid through tubes, into every room, of every dwelling, instead of hiring people to bring it by driblets in. A sum equal to one year's salary of the examiners — $16,000, would go far to bring about the change; the work once completed — fully posted up — and a copy placed in every city, town, and district library, would, in each place be a fountain of knowledge to which inquisitive spirits might ever have recourse.

It would save half the examiners' time, and supersede three fourths of an irritating correspondence, arising from disallowed claims. Till it is undertaken, the examining corps will have to be increased with the increasing business of the office: when done, no such reinforcement would be wanted.

It would be difficult to overrate the saving of time, money, material, and mental expenditure, that would accrue to the country, if the ingenious had the means of readily ascertaining what has been done in the lines of their speculations. A very inadequate idea may be gathered from the number of applications for patents rejected and suspended yearly, for want of novelty or merit. In 1848, there were 968, and in 1849, over 1,400. Yet cases that come under the notice of this office, constitute but a small part of the labors of those who sacrifice years in unfruitful researches, for lack of information which an index of inventions would give them.

In a pecuniary point of view, such a work is therefore most desirable to this office, to inventors, and the public at large. When made accessible to popular reference, it will be the saving of millions. No state paper could surpass it in importance, nor in lasting value.

Till it is done, a majority of applicants for patents must continue to meet with sore disappointment. The only safe rule with them, is always to make themselves acquainted with what has been attempted, before incurring any serious outlay. They should never presume that their devices have not entered other heads than their own, until, by a searching inquisition on every hand, the presumption remains in their favor, unimpaired. No better advice than this can be given them. — But how are they to follow it? Nineteen twentieths have few or no reliable sources of information within their reach, and not one in a hundred can afford the expenses of a visit to Washington, and a residence there, for the purpose of consulting the office records and library.

When such a work as the one contemplated shall be compiled and put in print, patents for perpetual motions will cease to be asked for.

Those, then inclined to follow the phantoms, would see that others had pursued them through the same deceitful tracks as they themselves. But the rule of the office is now to decline an examination of papers relating to such devices, unless accompanied with working models, that power-generating machines may no longer impeach their specifications — a rule really favorable, though seldom acceptable to applicants, since it requires them to solve the impossible problem before spending their money to patent it — in other words, requiring them to exhibit a machine actually giving out what was never put into it.

If Congress decide that the work shall be undertaken, it should be confined to American discoveries and inventions, at least till they are collated, including of course patented devices, up to the time when the regular publication of specifications and drawings is begun. Both for economy and utility, the descriptive matter should be concise and expressive — pages should be compressed into lines. When illustrations are required, a few strokes of the graver, would in hundreds of cases, be enough with, and often without, a dozen lines of letter-press.

It is evident that the work should be placed in charge of a person or persons peculiarly fitted for it by previous habits and studies. Much care and consideration should be exercised, in definitely determining on the plan and details. Not less than three individuals could be advantageously occupied upon it — the compiler, an assistant, and a draughtsman. Essential aid might be contributed by the examiners. I respectfully propose that six thousand dollars be appropriated from the Patent Fund, for the purpose of beginning the work, and that the same amount be authorized to be drawn yearly to continue it, till otherwise ordered by Congress.

III.—INSTITUTION OF NATIONAL PREMIUMS FOR NEW DISCOVERIES, &c.

The present times will ever be memorable as the opening era of the inorganic and latent motors — one that has brought with it a knowledge of the true destiny of man, which has sent its influence throughout the entire circle of human pursuits, and immeasurably extended human prospects. With it has come the true interpretation of creation's pages, for the arts and science, so long neglected, are now recognised as "rivers of life," to an otherwise sluggish and sterile world. Civilization, which before was a stagnant lake, now pours out fertilizing streams that widen, deepen, and grow more rapid, as they advance.

It is our duty, above that of all other people, to assist in this renovation of the race. To profit by our privileges as we ought, we should surpass others both in science and art; for what are liberal institutions worth, if they enfranchise not and enrich not the soul? Deliverance

from external thraldom is only preliminary to intellectual emancipation, in which freedom's divinity is ultimately to be felt.

To foster the development of new discoveries in science and improvements in the arts should be among the acknowledged aims of legislation. Assuredly no subjects connected with sectional, national, or mundane advancement, with the progress of a people or the species, with the lowest or highest purposes of existence can compare in importance with them.

The question arises—how is this to be done?

Among the people of old there was one that played their part in the world's drama with such spirit that the sympathies of every succeeding age have been with them. Remarkable for original and vigorous thinking, they were surprisingly active and ingenious. Imagination in them was not crippled by superstitions nor obsolete forms of thought entailed by proclamation and statute. They thought better than their contemporaries and indulged in higher aspirations—results of their political organization. The freest of civilized people, they were necessarily the most inventive. To what else are we to ascribe the purity of taste and brilliancy of genius displayed in the arts they most cherished? The seat of science and of freedom, republican Greece shines in history, a star amid general gloom.

In one thing we are clearly behind her, viz.: In the inducements held out to her aspiring sons to make themselves worthy of her. No higher proof of the superior wisdom of her statesmen perhaps can be quoted, than an institution which for a thousand years urged her citizens to attempt noble deeds, or what were then deemed such.

The programmes and fetes of the Olympian games furnish a principle by which all people, imbued with the appreciation of true national glory may profit. Deemed to have done immortal honor to their country, successful candidates were crowned with chaplets, their portraits were suspended in temples, and their statues erected in public walks. To perpetuate their fame, their names were recorded in archives; stipends and often salaries for life were settled upon them; and further still, altars, and even offerings, were dedicated to them as to demigods.

If history is written for us to profit by its examples, why not organize something of the kind in honor of a better class of aspirants? Can we not elicit and maintain as generous an enthusiasm in the furtherance of the useful arts as did the Greeks of old to cherish pre-eminence in muscular performances? There is a wide difference between physical accomplishments that expire with the individuals, and permanent inventions which yield lasting happiness to society—and there should be some difference in their rewards. We have a political olympiad; why not add to it an institution to foster emulation among a higher

order of olympionices — of men whose peaceful exploits reflect honor on the country and age they live in?

How is it that while all the world has endorsed the apothegm — Honor fosters the arts — we have not been anxious, like people of old, to put it to use? The fact is, most of our maxims are learned by rote; they are seldom on our lips, rarely in our memories. We give a hollow assent to sententious truths, which, when they are most wanted, are least thought of; and naturally because of their pith not being seen nor their force felt.

As yet less has been done for inventors by government here, than has been accorded to them in other parts of the civilized world. In some they have their statues, and are in other respects honored. An effort is now made to wipe away the reproach — not by soliciting money from the treasury, nor putting the public to any expense whatever.

INVENTORS' PREMIUM FUND.

Under the conviction that Congress will not deny to the class of citizens from whom the Patent Fund has been received, the accomplishment of their wishes, and believing that the following proposition will meet the approbation of the wise and good of all classes, and be consistent with sound policy, the undersigned suggests that ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS of the Patent Fund be held sacred and intact as a permanent Inventors' Premium Fund: from the interest of which, rewards in money may be distributed once every four years, for the most important additions to science and the useful arts.

It is presumed that the most parsimonious could not object to returning in this way a portion of surplus money to those who paid it, upon the condition of the public receiving for it a new and increased value. The proposition, denuded, is simply one asking of Congress permission for the ingenious to promote the honor and interests of their country at their own cost.

Rich beyond all preceding ages, the present one has witnessed accessions to mechanical philosophy that are revolutionizing human affairs and extending human hopes far beyond the horizon which bounded ancient vision. To assist in further disclosing the resources of science and art, is so consonant with the aspirations of American genius, that the consecration of the sum named to this purpose would certainly meet with general approbation.

At six per cent., the accumulative interest during four years on $100,000 would amount to $26,247 69, which sum might be awarded quadrennially in sums proportioned to the merits and magnitude of the discoveries and inventions submitted for premiums.

At seven per cent., the amount would be swelled to $31,179 60.

To carry out the plan, a board of examination and award would be desirable. It might consist of thirteen members, and be made up thus: the Secretary of the Interior; the Commissioner of Patents; the Superintendent of the Coast Survey; the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute; the Professor of—of the Military Academy, West Point; the President of the National Institute; the Director of the National Observatory.

The remainder selected from the philosophical and mechanical associations in different sections of the Union, such as: the President of the Mechanics' Association of Boston; the President of the Mechanics' Institute of New York; the President of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia; the President of the Mechanics' Association of Baltimore; the President of the Mechanics' Association of Cincinnati; the President of the Mechanics' Association of Charleston, S. C. Or such other institutions might be represented as the wisdom of Congress may direct.

Assembling in Washington a sufficient time before the day or days for distributing the prizes, it would be their duty to examine the subjects offered for premiums, ascertain their merits, and determine the amounts to be awarded to the author or authors of each.

The reputation of such a body of men would, it is believed, be a sufficient guaranty against the introduction of favoritism or any other unworthy motive of action. Above all personal and political influences in making the awards their decisions could hardly be other than such as the public would approve. The eyes of thousands and tens of thousands would be on them; their verdicts would be subjected to general criticism, and be applauded or condemned by the world. Guided by inflexible justice, they would be respected and revered as were the twelve who presided at the great quadrennial festival at Elis; and eventually the honor of a prize would be more sought for at their hands than the value of the prize itself.

A genuine inventor cares little for what the world calls wealth. Mammon is not the first nor the final cause in his philosophy. Ambitious of disclosing new facts, let him bring in fresh contributions to the stock of mechanical discovery, and the treasures of India are nothing to him —and in reality *are* nothing in comparison with the riches he reveals. With him it is an affair of honor more than of profit.

The 5th day of March—the day following each Presidential inauguration at the capitol—it is presumed, would be a suitable one for the presentation at the Patent Office of the premiums to successful competitors. Should the project be sanctioned by Congress, the first presentation might be announced to take place on the 5th of March, at noon, of the year 185–, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to whose department the Patent Office belongs.

By associating these scientific festivals with the beginning of each administration, the occasion of awarding the premiums would be heightened in interest, and be witnessed by citizens from every section of the Union, and also by strangers from abroad. Appropriate addresses by distinguished citizens might form part of the ceremonies. We should thus hold a kind of political and scientific olympiad, celebrated with fetes in unison with the age—with competitions between intellectual instead of physical athletæ.

Those bearing off the chief prizes under each administration would have their names associated with it on the pages of history—for history henceforth is to be that of beneficent rather than destructive achievements—and of some of them, also, it perhaps will be said, "The honors of genius are eternal."

Should the whole sum at the disposal of the board at each period of distribution not be used, from the want of sufficient importance or merit in the devices or discoveries submitted, no inconvenience could result, since larger amounts would be on hand to meet extraordinary claims on subsequent occasions.

Once established and its beneficent effects experienced, accessions to the fund would in all probability be received in donations and bequests of patriotic citizens, of whom not a few would find it a congenial medium for promoting by their surplus wealth their country's glory.

A system of national prizes, thus established, would, it is believed, create an epoch in the history of American arts, and would cherish in the largest and most laborious class of citizens an ambition, with impulses as pure as any that move the human bosom: it would do more, for it is such things that contribute to the prosperity and duration of nations. It is well enough to talk of the penetration of prominent statesmen and legislators of old, but not one of them perceived the true means of elevating their people. The producing classes they despised, and the industrial arts were deemed beneath them.

Had premiums been offered at Olympia for useful discoveries in science and art—had they there brought out grist and saw mills, spinning-frames and power-looms—their names had come down in substantial forms, and been associated with cherished reminiscences through all generations. The history of the past would have presented very different aspects to those we are compelled to contemplate; Greece had not fallen before Macedon nor Rome, and the colonies of Attica had probably been at this day as numerous and widely spread as those of any other people.

Had the idea once occurred to the more advanced of the ancients that inanimate forces are the paramount agents of national prosperity and strength; that only as they are developed can people rise in civilization; that savages are such because they use no powers but their

own; that semi-barbarians are indebted for what progress they make to the labor of animals, and the more advanced to currents of wind and water; and that when the more efficient but less obvious energies of the gases are employed, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and all the great physical transactions of life can be carried on with a tithe of the expenditure of human muscle — the world would not now be struggling, as it is, with ignorance and misrule.

If any should be found to object to the organization of the proposed institution, it might be reminded that it would add a link — a bright and not a weak one — to the chain of national brotherhood.

PREMIUM MEDALS.

Another wise custom of old — wise because founded on a knowledge of the human heart, and of the springs of human action — was to strike medals in honor of remarkable men; hence the names and features of classical conquerors, statesmen, orators, historians, philosophers, and poets, that have come down. Similar compliments to professional eminence, good or bad, have been conferred by all modern nations. Let it be our part to present characteristic medallions to those whose labors tend not to depress and destroy, but to bless and exalt the race.

In Europe those that excel in the fine arts are complimented with casts and medals of Raphael, Rubens, Canova, &c., and with us, kindred ones for similar purposes have been struck, bearing the portraits of Stewart, Allston, and others. Why not adopt the same plan for the promotion of the Industrial and Productive Arts? I respectfully propose that three sets of dies be prepared for producing, in bronze or other metals, MEDALLIONS of FRANKLIN, FULTON, and WHITNEY, to serve as prizes and accompaniments of prizes, for valuable contributions to mechanical science.

Two, three, or more profiles might, if deemed proper, be impressed on each medal: thus Whittemore might be associated with Whitney, and Fitch and Oliver Evans with Fulton. Godfrey's might be added to Franklin, and were it deemed proper to introduce profiles of the living, one still more appropriate might be named.

A series of medallions of eminent American inventors or mechanics, thus commenced, would be continued, and eventually form a new chapter in medallurgy, as instructive and interesting as any of which that science can boast.

It may be a question with some, whether those who patent their inventions should be permitted to enter them for premiums. In the opinion of the undersigned, no restrictions of the kind should be imposed: the object sought to be accomplished is to hasten the advent of discoveries advantageous to the general good, not to limit benefits which their authors may legally and righteously derive from them.

PREMIUMS FOR WHAT OFFERED.

Instead of publishing a schedule of prizes and devices, it would perhaps be expedient to leave the field entirely open, so that any remarkable invention or contribution to the arts, of sufficient importance, might receive an appropriate acknowledgment. There can, however, be no impropriety in suggesting a few of the subjects to which the attention of inventors might with advantage be directed.

An invention by which land can be worked with equal facility *without animals* as with them, is one. In attempting the solution of this problem, it might be well if inventors would avoid copying too closely the action of the plough, and turn their attention to equivalent, though not analogous, processes for digging into, raising, turning, and breaking the soil: remembering also (what looks very like a *sine qua non* in locomotive ploughing), . . . to bring the points of resistance rather under the power than in the rear of it, as in cattle-ploughing, or so far in advance of it as some projectors would have them.

If the thrusting action had not been so completely identified in idea with the plough, it had long ago been modified, at least for some kinds of earth. But the implement has become so sanctioned by time, is rendered so venerable by antiquity, and revered as the symbol of the first and last of arts, that reforming spirits have kept away from it, hesitating to propose any radical change in so universally cherished a favorite. The fact may be assumed that in its stereotyped forms and features, the plough belongs exclusively to the cycle of animal motors. It can not go beyond them without undergoing more or less of a metamorphose. When inorganic prime-movers take it in hand the rectilinear will most likely give place to a rotary and paring or semi-paring action.

There is no difficulty in combining the effect of the plough, harrow, pulverizer, or clod-breaker, in the same machine, for soils the most tenacious. A single or a series of cutters or prongs at the ends of vertical revolving shafts (on the principle of oblong boring machines or such as are used for removing the blank surfaces of engraved blocks of wood) might be carried over a field with very little resistance to its progress, while each cutter, equivalent to a plough, would work away the most adhesive soil—paring it off in shavings of any determined thickness in front, and leaving them well broken and commingled behind:—cutting away roots in its path by piecemeal and opening the soil thoroughly for the air's percolation (a most essential part of an intelligent ploughman's treatment of his land) instead of successive rows of solid slabs, which the present implement, by its wedge-like operation, compresses and turns up.

By obvious devices, implements of this kind could readily be made adjustable to surface or to the deepest subsoil ploughing; while the power required, even in the latter operation, would hardly ever equal that consumed in ordinary applications of current ploughs.

The earth hitherto tortured by ignorance and then denounced for barrenness is about to receive better usage. A new epoch in agriculture is clearly at hand; brought near by the labors of chemists and inventors, to whom the glories of a conquest extending over the planet and replete with unalloyed blessings to the entire human race will belong. Husbandmen acquiring a knowledge of chemical and mechanical laws will cease to violate them, and with a tithe of their present toil reap abundant and certain harvests: certain, because blight, mildew, and every other disease incident to plants, will become eradicated and famine be unknown. It will not be long ere this and other terrible natural scourges will be acknowledged as the unavoidable penalties of neglecting to employ the powers given us to ascertain and remove the causes of them.

A premium of $10,000 for an economical LOCOMOTIVE PLOUGH, or even a higher sum, would in a national view be money well laid out.

If the device be not realized by steam, it will be an early corollary of the next motor.

INCREASING THE SPEED OF OCEAN STEAMERS

Is another desideratum. These vessels constitute a marked feature in modern navigation, but rapid as naval travelling has come to be by them, it will unquestionably be carried to a much higher standard. The first locomotives did not average five miles an hour. In 1825, a European writer placed the maximum velocity at six, and ridiculed the promulgation of "such nonsense, as that we shall see locomotive engines travelling at the rate of twelve, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty miles an hour." In 1829, fifteen miles was attained—soon after, that speed was on one occasion nearly doubled. Within the last seven years, twenty miles was deemed the highest consistent with safety; subsequently, thirty was reached—then thirty-five was supposed to be the extreme limit, but recently, a mile a minute has been attained, and is kept up in some English express trains. Even seventy miles an hour has been reached. The average speed of railroad travelling will certainly come up to sixty. So with oceanic locomotors:—they have been gradually growing faster, and, admitting in their case, to a greater extent than air opposes to locomotives, an increased resistance with increased speed, there is no reason to suppose anything like the limits has been attained. They have run up from four, to six, eight, ten, twelve, to about fifteen, their present average, and must continue to run up.

I propose, that a premium of $20,000 be offered for improvements by which a vessel shall make three consecutive trips across the Atlantic, at an average speed of twenty miles an hour; and another of $20,000, for those by which twenty-five miles shall be done. Such premiums will tend to put the enterprise and ingenuity of our citizens still more on the stretch, and urge them to shoot ahead of the present craft, either by decided improvements in propelling apparatus or by the introduction of new principles of propulsion.

PRIZE FOR A NEW MOTOR.

Steam, the only force artificially evolved, it is admitted, has surpassed the brightest foreshadowings. The heart of modern society it has quickened, and animates the most distant members. In political and moral renovations, its pulsations are not less perceptible than in scientific and mechanical.

But steam is ordained to be superseded to some extent by, or at least associated with, other prime movers. To stimulate the inventive genius of our countrymen, and endeavor to secure to the republic the imperishable honor of giving a new mechanical power to the world, it is respectfully proposed to Congress to authorize the offer of a premium of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS, to be drawn from the treasury or from future accumulations of the Patent Fund, to him who within the next —— years shall render *Electricity* in any of its forms an economical, efficient, and general prime mover:

Or who, within the same period, shall discover and make known the means by which *atmospheric pressure* can be profitably employed in the propulsion of sea-going vessels, and land-locomotives, or as a general impeller of fixed machinery; by some rapid mode of expelling air from a cylinder or of annihilating it under a piston:

Or, who develops an *explosive*, or other prime mover, applicable, energetic, and economical, as the vapor of water, and whose exciting and transmitting mechanism is less massive and costly than that of the steam-engine.

[It is cargoes of fuel, tanks of water, and huge boiling caldrons, with their heavy and dangerous adjuncts, in steamers and locomotives, that are wanted to be got rid of.]

Were the amount offered a million of dollars, it would be none too much, and were it drawn from the public coffers, no very strong objection could be brought against it, since the community would be benefited by the stipulated consideration a thousand-fold.

It is not probable that this premium would be claimed under several years, so that no inconvenience from an early withdrawal from the Patent Fund, if from that source Congress determine to offer it, of so large a sum, need be anticipated; but were it to be awarded to-morrow, so much the better for us and our race.

VIII.

ON THE PROPULSION OF STEAMERS.

This division (Part I.) of the annual exposé, is assumed to be as suitable a medium for occasional essays on the great mechanical desiderata of the day, as is the section devoted to agriculture, for practical information to farmers. To suggest and stimulate invention, as well as protect it, would seem to come within the legitimate duties of a bureau, especially designed "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts." It is, therefore, proposed to occupy a few sheets in future with communications which may point out new channels of thought and tend to enlarge the area of invention.

The subjoined synopsis of original experiments, recently made by the undersigned, and illustrated by various types of nature's propellers, point out, as has been conceded, elements of marine progression that have hitherto been wholly overlooked by nautical engineers. The facts developed are respectfully submitted to Congress, as elucidations of a subject deserving the special attention of the General Government.

Oceanic steamers are too essential links of the system of cheap and free postage—domestic, international, and mundane—to be allowed to pursue undisturbed their present average passages. To this great and growing element of modern civilization, and of universal brotherhood, they have yet much to contribute. The Ferry-boats of Nations, they must make their runs from continent to continent, so as to rival, both in regularity and speed, the lines of land locomotives which they severally serve to connect.

The proposition may be a startling one, that in science, the further men advance, the longer become their strides, and the easier they are taken: yet so it is. Locomotive navigation is in point; but, surprisingly rapid as has been its growth, it is in its veriest infancy. Born in our day, its greatest feats are yet to be performed. By gallantly dashing through the palings which some savans had imprudently reared before them, Oceanic steamers have read the learned a lesson about laying out boundaries for science, and hedging in enclosures for art.

It is with artificial, as with natural motive-mechanisms: an intimate relationship exists between the members; reaching to the minutest and remotest. If one be out of order, all feel the effect. A lame leg makes its owner halt; an inflamed finger, toe, or tooth, deranges more or less the whole body:—just so with a steamer, whose instruments of progression are defective in figure, out of place, or proportions: she too, limps, though neither the infirmity nor the seat of it may be suspected. Swift and agile she may seem to

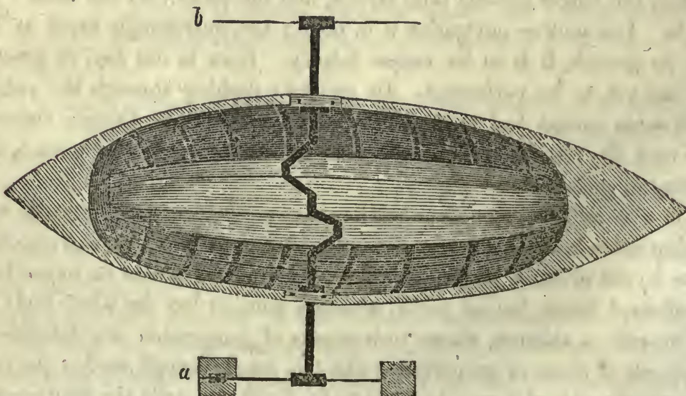
be, yet much of her power produces no corresponding result in her onward course. Like the injured or distorted wings of a bird, malformation in her paddles is fatal to her healthy and rapid flight.

Acute intellects have, for years, been employed in perfecting marine engines and boilers, but the true figure of propelling blades is a subject that has escaped general attention; sources of retardation were not imagined to be lurking there. The virtue of form in them has not been thought of; and then, while speed is desired above all other qualities, the least attention has been given to the organs upon which it depends. Steamers are now so elaborately improved and enriched as to elicit and deserve the soubriquet of floating palaces, but their buckets are the same rude affairs as were used in primeval paddle-wheels. In endeavoring to quicken their pace, our efforts have resembled those of trainers of race-horses, who should confine their attentions to the animals' heads and trunks, instead of developing and strengthening the muscles of their limbs.

Experiments on the Paddles of Steamers; their figure, dip, thickness, material, and number, &c., made on the Harlem River, New York, in 1848.

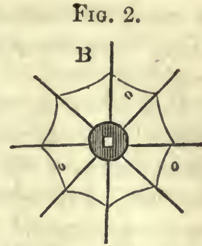
For this purpose, the boat, fig. 1, was employed. It was $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet across the middle. A wrought iron shaft, 1 inch square, with a crank, extended across the gunwales, and turned in bearings bolted to them. Each end of the shaft stretched 14 inches over the side of the boat, which prevented the wheels, that were secured on each extremity, from throwing as much water into the vessel as if they had been nearer; and afforded a better opportunity of observing the action of the blades. A person seated at one end of the boat, readily turned the wheels in either direction, by alternately pushing from and pulling towards him, two upright rods, which moved in joints at the bottom of the boat, and were connected to the cranks by horizontal rods or pitmen.

FIG. 1.

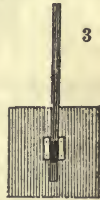


The wheels were very light, and of the simplest construction. One is figured at B. Eight slender arms, of $\frac{5}{16}$ square iron, with their inner ends cast in the central piece, extended 20 inches from the centre, and thus made a 40-inch wheel. To stiffen them, and transmit any strain upon one to the whole, they were braced tightly together by the wire, *o*, *o*, *o*, fig. 2, which was wound round each arm, and retained by slight notches at the corners. The various blades or paddles were cut out of stout sheet iron. Square sockets, to slide over the arms, were riveted to the paddles; by which means they were readily adjusted and secured at uniform distances from the axes. All were of the same area—49 inches.

FIG. 2.

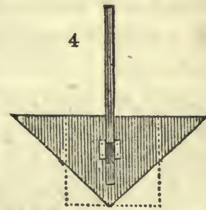


To test the qualities of the boat, and get her into working trim, blades, 7 inches square, fig. 3, were fixed on the arms of both wheels, and several excursions, up and down the river, made with them. Their dip was 7 inches, or rather more, for their upper edges were half an inch below the surface. They were next removed from one wheel, and left on the other, as the standard by which to compare the effects of different shaped ones. They were distinguished as No. 1. Nearly all the rest were formed from them: *i. e.* by removing portions from one part, and adding them to others, as will be seen in the following diagrams. In this way there was no danger of making, through mistake, one set of blades, of larger, or of less, superficial surface, than others—since no calculation of their areas was required.



In all the figures, the paddles are supposed to sweep through the water in the position as represented, the lowest sides being those which descend lowest in the fluid.

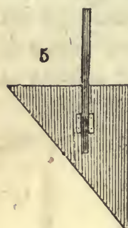
Fig. 4,—formed by cutting off the lower angles of fig. 3, and transferring the pieces to the upper ones, making a right-angled triangle, with sides 10 inches, and hypothenuse 14. (By mistake, the upper corners were cut away, so as to leave the area of these blades 48 square inches, instead of 49.) Eight of these were fixed on the wheel, (see *b*, fig. 1,) to compete with the same number of fig. 3, on *a*, both having $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches dip.



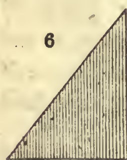
It will be obvious that, as both sets were attached to the same shaft, if one proved more efficient than the other, the boat would be turned from a straight course, and be inclined, more or less abruptly, to the weaker, or less efficient set. The result was, that those marked fig. 3 overcame fig. 4; and though only in a small degree, yet quite sufficient to establish their superior effect on the vessel's progress. As we were not always out of the influence of tides and slight breezes, each experiment embraced excursions in various directions on the river. Once or twice the boat went straight as

an arrow, but eventually, the square paddles got the better of the triangular ones. These dipped into the water with little noise, and threw it off behind from their points.

Most of the experiments were made in smooth water, and, except slight currents—aqueous and aerial—under the most favorable circumstances. Two persons occupied the boat, and the greatest care was exercised in preserving the shaft in a horizontal position. When results were doubtful, the experiments were repeated, and, generally, several times.



The *same* paddles (fig. 4) were next attached to the arms in the position represented in the margin, and distinguished as fig. 5, the upper side being, as in all other instances, 13 inches from the centre of the axis. Through repeated trials, they overcame the test paddles, fig. 3, and in a rather more marked manner than fig. 3, surpassed fig. 4. They entered the water silently, but observers on shore thought they raised more water behind, but did not raise it as high as fig. 3. Their points were nearly 3 inches lower in the water than the lower edges of fig. 3. The boat described a circle of 400 feet, and another of 600.



The same blades were next tried as fig. 6. From the experiment fig. 5, it was inferable that, if inverted, the effect of the blade on the boat would be augmented, as a larger portion would have a longer sweep through the water. Such was the fact, and to such a degree, that first two, and then four, were removed from the arms, when the remaining four were found equal to the eight of fig. 3. The plates were next raised, till their lower edges were on a level with those of No. 1. In that position, two inches of their upper extremities were above the surface of the river; but, notwithstanding, they had a decided advantage even then, over the square ones.

Lastly, the same blades were turned into the position of fig. 7, (being fig. 4 reversed.) The boat was turned on No. 3 under all circumstances, describing circles from 80 to 150 feet in diameter. Four of them equalled eight of No. 3. They were thought to throw off more water behind than their competitors, which, from the greater extent of their extremities, was probably true.

The next form tried was fig. 3, placed in the position of fig. 8. These turned the boat round against the test ones, in circles varying from 50 to 200 feet. We then tried six of them against the other eight, when there was little observable difference in the result. Four were found superior, but three were unequal to them. These, of course, entered the water, without jarring, and threw it off at their points. Mr. B. thought they threw up more than fig. 3.

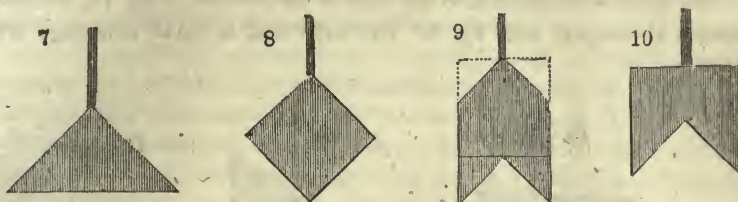


Fig. 9—formed by removing the upper corners below, as in the figure, seemed to have the advantage of fig. 8 ; but as light winds troubled us, we felt some hesitation in pronouncing them better. Four were superior to eight of No. 3. It was supposed that a slight accession of resistance to the lower ends, sweeping through the water, might be derived from opposing currents meeting in the forks, but we had no means to ascertain if it existed.

Fig. 10—cut out of plates eight inches square, with one-fourth, (minus a superficial inch,) removed, as shown in the figure. After several excursions, these were thought to exhibit a very slight advantage over fig. 3 ; but from subsequent tests, they seemed to be balanced. We, on another day, reversed them, as

Fig. 11, which had a decided preponderance over their competitors. Six predominated slightly over the latter, and four were thought nearly equal to them. There was a difference of opinion on the last point—some thinking they were quite as effective as the opposing eight.

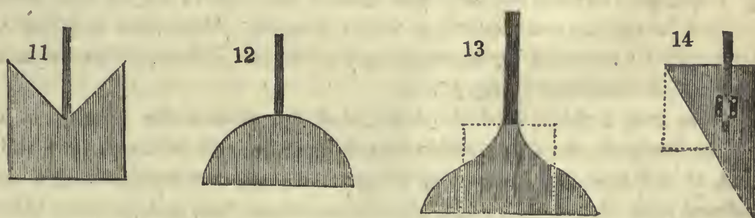
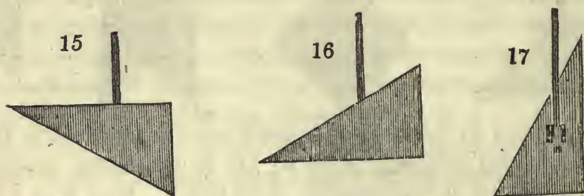


Fig. 12 was a semicircle. Mr. B. undertook to test these. They turned the boat in circles varying (from light winds and tides) from 30 to 150 feet. Four were thought sometimes equal, and sometimes superior, to eight of fig 3. It is demonstrable that these blades are less effective, though in a very small degree, than those marked fig. 7, and, when reversed, more powerful than fig. 4.

Fig. 13,—formed as represented, but not tried, as it was evident their value would be nearly that of fig. 7, probably a shade above them, but too minute to be detected, except in perfectly still water.

Fig. 14,—a right-angled triangle, 7 inches across the top, and ending in a point nearly 14 inches below it. These were, as might have been anticipated, more effective than those of fig. 3. "Everything about them," observed Mr. B., "shows their superiority." They, of course, entered the water without jarring.

The same were attached to the arms in the position of fig. 15, and were unable to compete with fig. 3. The latter had a slight advantage over them.



They were next reversed, as fig. 16, when they proved effective as figs. 7 and 12—four being equally so as the eight opposed to them.

They were finally changed to fig. 17, when the boat was turned so rapidly, as to make it difficult, with a wide oar, to keep her in one direction. Four were removed, and then she described a circle in less than 50 feet. Two more were taken away, leaving only a couple to act against the eight on the other wheel, and to which they proved equal.

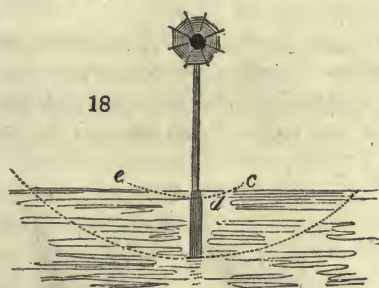
From these experiments, it appears that, with equal *areas*, and equal *dip*, triangular blades may be rendered *twice* as effective as ordinary rectangular ones. This is made manifest by figs. 7, 12, and 16,—*four* of the former equalling eight of the latter. And this, too, while the propelling surface of the smaller number was only half that of the greater; for the four were as long in making a revolution, as were the eight. Hence, the speed of a boat may be increased by diminishing the number of her paddles—a fact still further elucidated by fig. 17.

There can, I think, be little doubt, that the greater the velocity of a steamer's wheels, the fewer (within certain limits) should be the blades; and that, at the rate at which some of our boats go, the number might be reduced with advantage. Some have three, others four, and in more than one vessel, without any load on board, I have seen six submerged at each wheel. In these cases, is it not evident that each blade, on entering, plunges, not, as it ought, into water undisturbed, but into that which preceding ones have already broken up, and set in motion towards the stern? It would seem that one in the act of plunging, another sweeping under the shaft, and a third leaving the surface, are all that are necessary to be kept up; and that a greater number, as regards the speed of a boat, is positively injurious. Yet, under a vague idea of attaining a higher speed, the number of paddles has frequently been nearly doubled.

Snow, as every person knows, causes the wheels of land locomotives to slip upon, instead of rolling over, the rail. They revolve as usual, but the carriages make little progress; hence much of the power spent on them is expended to no purpose. So it is with paddle-wheels: a boat never progresses in the ratio of their revolutions, because of the yielding medium in

which, and against which, they act. They slip always—a result, to some extent, inevitable when massive solids wade through fluids. The distance between the Atlantic steamers' docks, in Liverpool and New York, has been calculated at 3023 miles, but their paddles, in each trip, pass over a space varying from 5000 to 8000 miles.* In steamers unaided by sails, the disproportion is often greater. Now can this be modified, by giving the paddles a better hold on the fluid they sweep through? The experiments with blades 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, and 17, furnish replies to the interrogatory.

The moral of the foregoing experiments is this:—As the propelling power of a paddle is greatest at its lower or outer extremity, and diminishes to nothing at the surface, so its face should enlarge with the dip, and be nothing, or next to nothing, above.—Let *d*, fig. 18, represent the end of an ordinary blade, or paddle. Its upper part barely touches the water, and only for the moment it is in the position shown. But suppose it were immersed to the line *e*, *c*,—say four or five inches—it would even then be no sooner under, than above the surface again, so brief would be its immersion. The lower edge, in the meanwhile, would sweep along the extended curve there delineated.



Of what use, then, to make the upper part of a blade of equal extent with the lower? Why accumulate surface where it is of little avail, and withhold it where it is most wanted?—expending materials and power without any adequate return, if not at an absolute loss. The quantity of water carried over a wheel, is certainly greater by ordinary, than it would be by triangular paddles. The popular form and position of paddles are unphilosophical, if viewed simply as propellers. Embrace the same area in any other outline—in a circle, ellipse, square, pentagon, hexagon, octagon, or other polygonous figure, and the propelling properties would be increased, and the jar arising from their striking the water, also diminished.

If the long parallelogram be preferred, because of the ready application

* The English steamer *Europa* came in on the 25th ult., after the remarkably short trip of eleven days. Her wheels are 32 feet in diameter, and taking their revolutions at the average of 17 per minute, her paddles swept over a space exceeding 5000 miles. The steam ship *Northerner* has wheels 31 feet in diameter. In running from New York to Charleston, 630 miles, they made 52,000 revolutions, in another trip, 51,000. The *Cherokee's* wheels are the same dimensions. In her first trip, to Savannah, a distance of 700 miles, they made 53,000 revolutions. The practice now is, to lessen the slip of marine carriage wheels, and make them approach nearer in effect to those used on land, by increasing their width; that is, the length of their paddles. Hence those of

of wooden planks, then is the principal sacrificed to an accessory—the greater to the less. If triangular, or other improved blades, require the adoption of plates of metal, would it be wise to reject them on that account? But of this by and by. We shall see that thick wooden blades ought to be condemned on account of defects inherent in them.

But what is this expansion of the lower part of a paddle, and contraction above, but Nature's own plan? In the tails and fins of fishes, in wings of birds and insects, and especially in the palmipeds, she has nowhere sanctioned a rectangular propeller. All are inclined to equilateral, scalenous, or isosceletic triangles, or are made up of them. Nor does she ever unite the levers that work them to their sides. The junction is invariably at an angle, and the reason is apparent—that the largest surface may have the longest sweep.

With this view, the bodies of fishes taper down to meet the blades; retaining only sufficient muscle to work them. Waiting one day for the cars to proceed to Harlem, I stepped into a neighboring Fish Market, and sketched the following, from specimens on one of the stalls. I am ashamed to ac-

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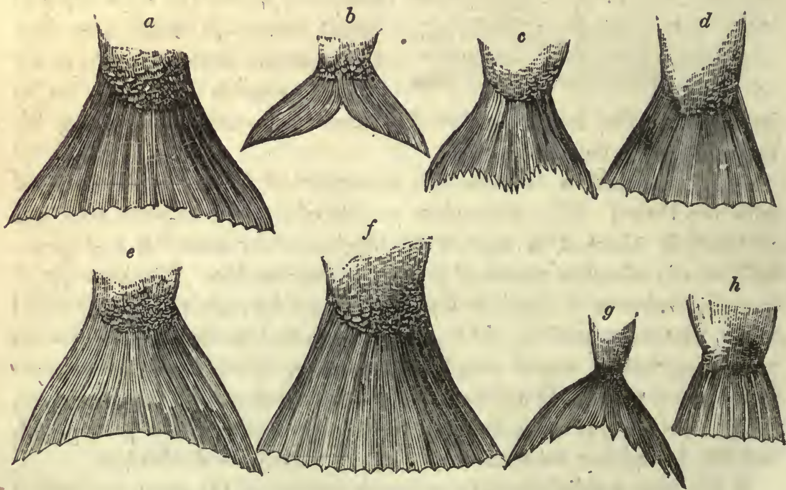


a, Striped bass,	*e*, Salmon,
b, Porgee,	*f*, Cod,
c, Sea bass,	*g*, Mackerel,
d, Black-fish,	*h*, Flounder.

the *Atlantic*, one of the large Liverpool Liners now building, are to be 12½ feet long; but for the difficulty of entering the English Docks, they would have been 14 feet. Those of the *Hermann* and *Washington*, of the Bremen Line, are respectively 8 feet and 7½; while the *Franklin*, preparing for the same line, has them 12 feet. The English mail boats of recent build, the *Europa* and her three associates, have paddles between 8 and 9 feet.

knowledge that, till then, I was ignorant of the exact forms of these natural propellers, although most of them had passed under my observation on a thousand occasions. Too many of us spend no more thought on the infinitely curious and instructive mechanisms submitted by the Creator to our inspection daily, than does the ox on the vegetable glories he feeds on. The sentiment applies not more to religious than to physical truths. "Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." We grope, as if blind, for that which is patent before us.

The general outlines and proportions are given in the preceding figures; the dimensions, of course, vary with the age and growth of individuals. The figures denote the width and length of the expanded tails—the latter being taken from the termination of the body, as shown by the curves, which reach more or less into the tails: i. e. to strengthen them where strength is most required.

I confess I had no idea of meeting with figures so closely allied to the artificial ones which I had found most effectual as propellers. With the exception of the first two, the whole approach to equilateral triangles.

In the absence of a more extended acquaintance with the minuter aqueous and sub-aqueous organisms, the nearest of natural analogues to steam vessels, seem to be the principal swimming-birds. These glide through two elements at once. Their long and heavy bodies, adapted to float gracefully on water, are provided with organs of propulsion, placed far behind their common centres of gravity—the cause that makes them such awkward travellers on land. When a gale blows in the direction they wish to pursue, like human navigators, they take advantage of it; they spread their wings to catch it, and are driven onward then, as steamers are, by both wind and paddles.

The reciprocating action, and the expanding and collapsing features of their aqueous organs of progression, are supposed to be unsuited to the magnitude, materials, and velocity, of artificial ones. Perhaps they are; but may not their contour be perfectly applicable; since, when open, and in action, the circumstances of the two bodies propelled—the bird and the boat—are not essentially dissimilar? Now, there is a marked adherence to the triangular form in the webbed feet of birds; showing that, in the judgment of the Creator, such an outline is the best for the purposes of their propulsion. Nor does it appear that this outline has, in any material way, been modified to meet other exigencies. In the feet of water-fowl it is almost identical with the tail of the sea-bass. The legs, or rods, that wield these ornithological paddles, are invariably united to them at their points, or angles, and clearly for the reason already stated.

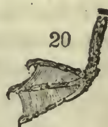
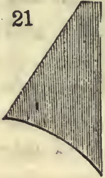


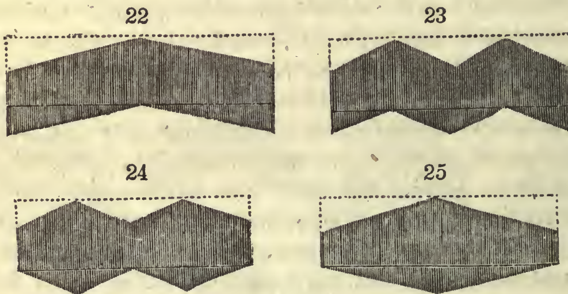
Fig. 20 represents the foot of a petrel. It is a type of all the swimming birds' propellers. Few, except professional naturalists, could distinguish between it and the same organ in geese, ducks, gulls, swans, the albatross, cormorant, diver, flamingo, &c., &c. Although natural paddles are submerged when

at work, and those of our wheels emerge into air, to repeat their strokes, I doubt if a more efficient form could be given to the latter than the above. The cuspated extremity would obviate the jar consequent on straight-edged blades striking the water.

If I had a new boat to fit propellers to, they should resemble figs. 7, 6, or 17; or I would rather make them like half the foot of a swimming-bird, as fig. 21—the perpendicular sides being next the vessel, that the greatest strain might be nearest to the power. Such blades would not be raised out of the sea by a vessel's rolling, nor, when submerged, be subject to excessive strainings, as common ones are. They would produce no concussion, or but little, on dipping, and would be twice as effective as the same area employed in the prevailing form and fashion.



If the principle were required to be adopted in the present paddles, it could be done at a trifling cost. I would remove portions from the upper sides, and attach them below, somewhat after the manner shown at figs. 22, 23, 24, and 25.



The portions *might* be removed by curved instead of straight lines.

If I should use blades similar to fig. 7, I would vandyke their lower edges as at 23, point them as at 25, or fork them as at 22.

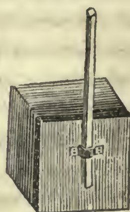
The foregoing experiments and remarks relate chiefly to the *figure* and *dip* of paddles. Other traits next solicited investigation; and, though neither prominent, nor promising any adequate reward for the requisite labor, they were thought worth attending to, since engineers will certainly be urged shortly to cast about for every means of adding, though ever so little, to the speed of steamers.

Buoyant or Displacing Paddle.

It had been imagined, that the resistance which fluids oppose to the sinking of bulky bodies in them, might be employed as an element of propulsion—that if close barrels, for example, were fastened to the arms of a wheel, their ends would act as paddles, and the force required to plunge them, (equal to 62 lbs. for each cubic foot of water displaced,) also react

favorably on the boat. To test this idea, eight square and tight boxes, fig. 26, 7 inches by 7, and 6 inches deep, were secured to the arms of one wheel, and set to work against the eight blades, No. 1, (fig. 3,) on the other. The boxes required, very sensibly, more power to carry them round than any other tried, and were miserably deficient in pushing the vessel forward with it—certainly not equalling four of the competing blades. They produced quite a commotion in the water, carried large quantities over with them, and, could we have communicated sufficient velocity, would probably have formed a vertical ring of water. These boxes were, and should be, considered simply as unusually *thick* blades. All paddles are buoyant in proportion to their thickness.

Fig. 26.



Thickness of Paddles.

But though worthless in one respect, they were valuable in another, for they led us to the fact, or the law, that the propelling virtue of blades expands and contracts with their thickness. Thicken them till they touch each other, and they form a perfect drum, which could exert no more propelling power than a revolving grindstone;—reduce them to the thinnest plates, consistent with the strains they have to oppose, and in the same ratio their propulsive quality is augmented in them.

The boxes were removed, and boards $\frac{7}{8}$ths of an inch thick, and 7 inches square, put in their places. These represented common plank paddles, and were found sensibly inferior to their metalline competitors, whose thickness was slightly less than $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. We next took away two of the latter, when no very obvious change in the boat's direction occurred. When two more were taken off, the remaining four were unable to contend with the wooden ones. These, it will be remembered, were $\frac{1}{7}$th the thickness of the boxes, and consequently inherited that proportion of their defects.

It was also very observable how much more water was raised by the boards than by the plates. It could not easily be cast off their blunt boundaries, but kept running over them, from one side to another—a fact rendered more distinct in the boxes. Nothing could declare plainer, that the sharper the dipping edges of paddles are made, the more back water they throw off at the point where its departure is most beneficial: that is, when the re-action favors the vessel's progress—and, consequently, less is carried higher than the axis. A very little labor would impart this feature—in other words, would make their section a wedge. The resulting benefit would repay the expenditure a hundred fold.

Compared to metal, wood approaches in its nature to sponge; water clings to it; its pores are absorbing vessels, that suck it in, and assist to retain it on the surface.

Here nature also confirms the positions arrived at. Extreme tenuity of

blade is stamped with perfection by her. Hence we see it strengthened by reticulated bars in the wings of insects—by radial, angular, and tapering ribs in the fins and tails of fishes. An uniformly thick, and unsupported slab, like our paddles, is nowhere met with. We cannot imagine natatory or soaring organs, formed after such a pattern, without feeling the absurdity.

The caudal propellers of fishes are necessarily thick where they join the bodies, but how rapidly is the substance diminished, and to a mere film, at their extremities, so much so, that they are often there torn and jagged, by accident or wear, as fishermen well know. There must, therefore, be some powerful reason for withholding the material—one that overbalances all inconveniences resulting from its absence; and what can it be but the thinner the blade, the more efficient as a propeller it is—the longer is its stroke, and the more effectual is the power that wields it. The same law prevails in the wings of birds; their outward boundaries are feathered off to almost nothing.

The reflection is irresistible. With what nicety and care Nature perfects her propellers, and how clumsy and unfinished are ours; as if, forsooth, a vessel's progress did not depend upon them.

The last two experiments demonstrate, that the less water a paddle *displaces* by its volume, the more efficient it is; that all accumulation of material behind its acting face, beyond what is absolutely necessary to strengthen it, is injurious, and ought to be avoided. But how does this accord with the current practice? Oaken planks are universally employed, and I have heard more than one engineer assert, that the thicker they are the better! Because, said they, if the propelling property be not enhanced, it is not diminished, and the additional weight is a positive advantage, since the heavier the wheels are, the easier they work—the more uniform their movements.*

The "Gorgon," an English steamer, had "large wheels and little power," so she used oak or pine scantlings, 5 inches by 6, or 6 by 8, for paddles. Had her managers been aware of the true effect of thick blades, they never would have adopted them with the view of economizing power.

Paddle planks vary in thickness from 1½ to 3 inches. No sea steamers have them less than 2 inches. In the English vessels they are 2¼; in others, as the *Franklin*, they are 2½; in some of the largest class they are 3. The *Atlantic* and the *Pacific*, each of 3000 tons, now building for the Collins'

* As a further indication that the value of thinness in blades, and of their disencumbrance from every pound of material extraneous to their functions as propellers, have not hitherto been appreciated, it may be remarked, that the same language was repeated in in my hearing, thus:—"A few tons of wood in the buckets do no harm, if they do no good; they add weight to the wheel, which is desirable, and their only disadvantage is, the additional load on the boat." I believe this is the general, if not the universal, opinion of engineers. But the experiments just referred to, teach us that, if a wheel require loading, the load should be attached to those parts of the arms that revolve above the surface. They cannot enter the water without becoming drags on the blades.

Line, are to have them 3 inches. The former is to have 28 blades; hence, united, they will form a solid mass, *seven feet* thick, in each wheel—just one-fifth of its diameter! They are to be 12½ feet long, by 34 inches; those of both wheels will, therefore, contain nearly 500 cubic feet of timber, and must displace that enormous volume of water at every revolution, by their submersion alone!—and, as we have seen, not only uselessly, but with a serious retardation of the vessel's headway, and waste of her motive power.

The wheels of the *Pacific* are to be 36 feet in diameter; each will have 30 blades, 11½ feet by 3 feet; the solid contents of her paddles will, therefore, equal 517 cubic feet. Her loss from the same source will, therefore, be greater. In *every* revolution of *each wheel*, her paddles will lose 7½ feet of effective stroke, and those of the *Atlantic* 7 feet! Those of the ocean steamer *United States* are 2¼ or 2½ inches thick; they are 36 in number, but as they are "split," and attached on both sides of the arms, there are really 72. The effective stroke of her blades is certainly diminished from 10 to 15 feet, in every turn of each of her wheels, startling as the assertion is.

Has the attention of engineers ever been turned this way? Or have they forgotten, that a volume of water equal to that of a boat's paddles, and every inch of material submerged with them, is neutralized as a resisting medium, as often as it is displaced by their immersion;—that water is to them what steam is to pistons—the more space the latter occupy in cylinders, the shorter becomes their stroke, because metal then takes the place of steam; the object to be moved crowds out the mover. Thicken a piston till it fills its cylinder, and the motive agent being wholly kept out, all motion ceases.

It is much the same with the paddles of a wheel. Let them fill up $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$, of the circle they describe, and in those proportions they lose their virtue, because in the same proportion they displace, or push aside, the fluid agent on which their worth depends.

The *Atlantic* will lose *seven feet* stroke in every turn of her wheels. I leave to mathematicians to determine, how many more miles an hour she would make if the loss were reduced to seven inches by using ¼-inch iron in place of 3-inch plank.

The paddles of United States large steamers are invariably of 3-inch plank. The language of the chief engineer on this point, under date of January, 1849, was as follows:—"The blades of large wheels for marine steamers are usually, and ought to be, three inches thick." The average number in each wheel, he observed, is twenty-eight. Hence, it is demonstrable, that nearly twelve per cent. of the power employed in these vessels is thrown away, and with it even a larger proportion of their enormous cost and attendance when in active service.

There are several interesting questions about paddles that yet require solutions, but as respects their thickness, there is no *mean* to seek; the thinnest is the best under all circumstances—thin, were it possible, as a lamina of

mica. The only question is, What material will supply the thinnest sheets to resist the pressure they are to oppose? Plates of steel may yet be adopted, and perhaps coated by the electrotype process with copper or other metal.

To one remark, an examination of some steamers' wheels adds force. The accumulation of bolts, nuts, clamps, straps, stays, and other things, on and about the backs and faces of the paddles—sometimes even to bolting a new plank, or part of one, over an old one—shows that those who heap on matters of the kind, are not aware how much the efficacy of blades are thereby diminished. They forget that they should be thin and smooth as plates of glass, and that every inch of matter introduced between them, is an evil. It is impossible to view the disjointed, broken, patched up slabs of some vessels, without exclaiming, "What a saving of power, and increase of useful effect, would not the substitution of a suitable sheet of metal for each accomplish!"

A new division of engineering, I sometimes think, might judiciously be made, and paddle-making be recognised as a distinct department. These instruments have certainly never received the attention which they merit. Speed is the great desideratum, and it depends on them. Engines, and all the mechanism of a steamer, are subservient to them, and yet, while everything else has been elaborated to the utmost, they have been all but overlooked.

In some vessels—the United States mail steamer *Galveston* is one—strips of plank are bolted over the ends of the paddles to prevent their splitting, or warping. As they do not diminish the faces, but merely form elevations upon them, they are doubtless considered as in no degree interfering with the propelling function. We now perceive that, when such things are necessary, they should be of iron, and let into the blades, so as to be flush with their surfaces.

Number of Paddles.

The experiments of each day evinced that, so far as propulsion is concerned, the fewer the paddles, the faster went the boat, so long as *one* at each wheel, or an area equal to the face of one, was kept in full play. A greater number in the water merely cuts it into slices, throws them into commotion and diminishes the resistance they should oppose to the blades. As a further elucidation of this fact, four blades, 7×14, were tried against the eight test ones, 7×7. The smaller number had a decided advantage over the greater, and the cause was visible: they had a full sweep, through an unbroken, undisturbed, mass of fluid, and consequently produced, unabridged, their legitimate effects; while those on the other wheel—unusually small ($\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$) as their number was, compared to those on the wheels of steamers—following so quickly in the wake of one another, threw it into an

uproar, causing eddies, whirlpools, and counter currents, and thus interfering with each other, necessarily produced inferior results.

We thought 8 of fig. 4 would be equally valuable as 24 of fig. 3, but the construction of our wheels prevented us from instituting a series of similar comparisons.

The number of paddles now employed is, generally, greater than formerly. For large vessels, 28 are usual; some have 24, and others 32. The English rule, said to be a good one, is adhered to by many American engineers, except when circumstances require a deviation. By it, there is a paddle for every foot of a wheel's diameter, which makes them stand three feet apart; there are boats in which they occur every two feet.

One object of their multiplication, is to equalize the jar of their striking the water, by increasing the number of the blows. With the same view, they are often split through the middle, lengthwise, and the inner half—that next the shaft—removed to the opposite side of the arm, as in the end view, fig. 27, thus *doubling*, in a manner, their number. All the British steamers have their blades thus arranged. The *Hermann's* 28 were thus made into 56; their efficacy was found to be reduced about 9 per cent. The value of the upper or inner halves has been ascertained to be about the same, for, when wholly removed, the lower portions have proved within 10 per cent. as effective as before. The blades of the *United States* are split, and disposed as in the figure. The true principle of breaking the jar of paddles striking the water, seems to me to be indicated in the blades 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Had the attention of engineers been led to it in the early days of steaming, the popular plan of avoiding the evil at the expense of a greater, would not have been sanctioned so long.

27.

I observed the blades of the last named steamer, a week after her recent return from Europe. *Seven* were submerged, or *fourteen*, if those on both sides of the arms be counted. She sailed on the 4th inst., for New Orleans, with eight (or sixteen) under water. The *Cherokee* left on the 1st inst., for Savannah, with *six* of her undivided blades below the surface. The *Washington* came in on the 6th inst., from Bremen, with *five* similar ones fully immersed on each side—four full ones, and the halves of two others. The largest of our Sound and River boats have equal, if not greater numbers under. The *Vanderbilt*, 1200 tons, has *five*, or *ten* halves, immersed in each wheel, when lying at her dock, and without passengers on board. The *Isaac Newton*, 1200 tons, has similar wheels, and the same number of blades under water at once.

It is clearly as impossible for a paddle to do its duty, when thus embarrassed among its fellows, as for a traveller to make the same progress through a crowd, as on an open plain.

It may be a matter of future interest to place on record this feature, as exemplified in other New York steamers. The following memoranda are from personal observations, made within the last twelve months.

The *Hudson* has three undivided paddles under at each wheel.
" *Utica* three do. do. do.
" *Red Jacket* four do. do. do.
" *Cleopatra* four do. do. do.
" *Ansonia* nearly four do. do. do.
" *Falcon*, U. S. mail, has five fully down.
" *Galveston*, U. S. mail, do. do.
" *Confidence* four and a half do.
" *Oswego* four do.
" *Koskiusko* three and a half—her arms heavy timber.
" *Erie* four do. do.
" *Armenia* four fully down—out of sight.
" *Antelope* three and a half do. do.
" *William Young* three do. do.
" *Buena Vista* two and a half do.
" *Admiral* nearly four do. do.
" *Warren* the same do. do.
" *New Haven* five do. do.
" *Hero* three do. do.
" *Massachusetts*, (1000 tons,) plying on the Sound—five.
" *Alida* three and a half. She is deemed a first class boat, and a quick goer. Her wheels are $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter. The blades, 2 inch plank, ten feet long by 33 inches; each consists of two planks $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide—hence a joint in the middle. A curious example of the mechanical effect of the blades striking the water is exhibited; a long elliptical portion being worn away in several, as in the figure. Probably imperfect joints admitted the water through them at first, and continued rushing kept enlarging the apertures.

28.

The *Bay State*, (1600 tons, plies on the Sound,) has the same number of split and divided blades as the Newton and Vanderbilt, that is, ten immersed at each wheel.

The *South America* has eight immersed at each wheel.
" *Buffalo* nine do. do.
" *Empire State* eight—her arms and rings are heavy timber.
" *Oregon* ten—same as the Bay State.
" *Empire*, of Troy, eight—fully down.

As regards the violent concussion arising from the action of existing paddles, to diminish which the number is increased—to lessen by division the blows—there is a simple mode of reducing it *one half*, though from their

unphilosophical and unmechanical figure, it cannot be wholly removed, nor the consequent loss of power avoided. The usual practice is, so to arrange a boat's wheels that two blades, one on each side, strike the water simultaneously. In calm weather who has not heard these double blows at the distance of several miles?—this custom is the converse of Nature's. No swimming or diving bird pushes out both paddles at once—they invariably *alternate* them; an imposing and instructive fact. Had any of the palmipeds, those especially that live entirely in water, hunting their prey beneath it, and consequently to whom velocity is indispensable to existence, struck out both paddles at once, the plan of nautical engineers might have been deemed in accordance with correct principles of speed, and economy of material and power; but while they all use but one at a time, it is surely worth while to test by experiments the difference between the two actions.

As sea steamers have little occasion to go stern-forwards, the backs of the acting faces are occasionally dressed off, as shown by the outline of fig. 29. As far as the lower, or dipping parts are concerned, this is a small—a minute advantage; but, from the preceding experiments, it is seen how beneficially such blades would act, were those parts brought to a knife-edge, and their sections bounded by the dark part of the cut. Their sides might be made slightly concave as Nature's generally are. Such might be made also of metal, by uniting two curved plates at the lower edges, and letting them diverge upwards: braces, if necessary, might be introduced between them. Each plate would, however, be a brace to the other.

29

Arms of Wheels.

The practice of making the arms of paddle-wheels of uniform, or nearly uniform, dimensions throughout, would be wrong. They may, without diminution of strength, be reduced towards their extremities, and ought to be, since every inch of surplus material submerged in them, detracts from the work done by the blades. They should taper outwards, as Nature tapers the radial ribs in her propellers; but, instead of this, the arms of wooden wheels (and there are few as yet of others,) are constructed *directly the reverse.* Their dimensions are *increased* outwards, and so general is this practice, that it may be considered universal. The "*Erie*," belonging to the New York and Erie Railroad Company, will serve as a fair example. An iron boat, she has wooden wheels, 28 feet 8 inches in diameter, with 28 paddles on each, 8 feet 8 inches long, 26 inches deep, and about two inches thick. The arms are oak scantling, 7 inches by 3, where they join the shaft, and 10 by 3 at their other extremities! As there are three to each paddle, one at each end, and one at the middle, the number at each wheel is 84, full one half of the timber immersed being not only useless, but highly injurious to the vessel's speed! This is not all: a further drag on her is to be found in

the rims or large circular stays to which the outer ends of the arms are secured: they are made of timber 5 inches by 5, and as portions are immersed with every paddle, a still larger volume of fluid is displaced. In this boat *four* paddles or buckets are under water at once, on each side—three full ones and two halves.

The "*Galveston's*" arms are 8 inches by 4, at their outer ends, and the circular braces or rings, 6 inches.

Coating Paddles with Materials that repel Water.

If any substance can be found, durably to prevent paddles from being *wetted*, they would then carry over less water with them. We coated one set with grease, (suet,) and, while the water streamed uniformly over the faces of others, it adhered only in narrow streaks to these.

Besides the paddles described, some others were tried, but, as they involved different principles, and were not of very practical application, their introduction here is not necessary.

The lessons which the foregoing experiments teach us are:—

That, to render paddles of steamers more effectual, they ought to be fashioned, as far as circumstances sanction, after models furnished by Nature, so as to conform to her general practice of contracting surface when resistance is of little avail, and extending it when the latter is greatest—to give the largest portions of blades the longest strokes—at the same time tapering their extremities.

That the fewer the paddles on a wheel the better, provided *one* be always kept in full play;—and hence, that it would be more advantageous to point, or fork them, as proposed, to evade the jar of their striking on the surface, than so perniciously to split and multiply them, as the popular practice is.

That smooth and thin metallic plates should be substituted for the usual massive, water-soaked planks. (At present, perhaps, nothing better than boiler-plates, galvanized, could be adopted.) That bolt-heads, nuts, cleats, straps, and every other projection, upon, or about them, should be provided against. That the arms of wheels ought to be reduced at their outer extremities, and the immersion of all superfluous material carefully avoided. That, when wheels require balancing, or their momentum to be increased, the weights should be attached to the arms above the surface of the water.

That paddles, and other parts that plunge with them, should be coated with varnish, or some other substance which repels water, that the fluid, instead of being dragged up in volumes by them, may roll off, as from the backs of diving birds.

These experiments, it will be borne in mind, have reference chiefly to the *figures* of propelling blades—to determine how far the question of power is involved is another matter, and requires another class of experimental investigations. To do anything well, is to do one thing at a time. After

determining the best figure, the next inquiry is the outlay of power; of this however we may be certain—as close relationship exists, and the same mutual dependencies pervade, the several parts of artificial as of natural machines: a defect in one member is felt in all. Where figure is distorted or proportions neglected, more or less power is squandered.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

An abiding conviction of the importance of the subject, and of the value of the preceding experimental results has elicited the further observations and illustrations which follow.

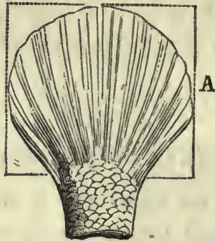
The principles by which steamers are to be impelled over oceans with rapidity and economy of power, are as definite as any that give effect to a lever or screw, and as fixed and unalterable as those of nature herself. To discover them is the business—the chief business—of the philosophical engineer, and not till this is done, can his achievements be free from the taint of imperfection and corresponding failure. It is discreditable that the true outlines of propelling blades have not been determined, and the rather since it is a proof that the full bearing of the question involved has to be felt—that the potential influence of form and proportion in propellers, as well as in the hulls of steamers, has yet to be investigated.

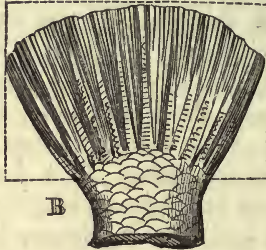
The following are a few out of millions of illustrations of gradations of form—from the slowest to the quickest—which show that the greater the velocity, the longer, narrower, and sharper they are, and the converse: as speed is diminished, the shorter, wider and blunter they become: the same rule applying to ornithologic as to ichthyological organs of motion. There is something exceedingly interesting as well as instructive in marking the changing outline—in observing that fish, *e. g.*, improve in speed as their *rounded and undivided* tails emerge into a *triangular* figure, next as they become *cuspated*, and lastly *lobated*, the quickest of all.

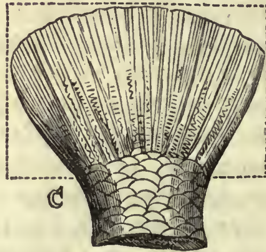
Such appears to be the general process, subject, of course, to many modifications, in order to meet the requirements of diversified habits and instincts. Still, wherever a fish is seen with a round or roundish and unbroken tail, it may safely be set down as a comparative slow mover, while deeply indented ones are, without exception, indicative of rapid flight.

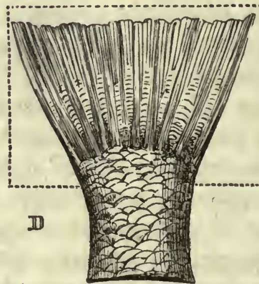
Round or roundish Propellers:—The Agriopus, fig. A, is an example of a type of numerous other broods. Its outline approaches a circle. The tail of the Toad-fish belonging to the same variety, exhibits the same class of organs, excessively elongated, while other families have organs forming a mean between these. Among Flounders, they are found ranging from nearly a perfect circle to a sharp triangle. Common along the Atlantic coast, the habits of both the fish, named, have been well observed. For lack of speed, they seize their prey by stratagem:—covering their bodies with

SLOW SWIMMERS.









A. Agriopus.
B. Holocanthus.
C. Archer—(Jaculator.)
D. Southern King Fish.

mud or sand, in shallow water unsuspecting stragglers no sooner come within reach than they are seized and swallowed. To this division of propellers also belong those of the Chetodons—ocean's butterflies, as they have been named—and other slow swimmers of tropical seas.

Among aquatic mammalia, modifications of the same outline may be seen in the propelling blade of the Manatee or Sea Cow, and in the fore feet of the Ornithorynchus, or Water Mole of Australia, (figured on page 87,) in the wings of the African Ostrich, almost perfect circles; in those of the Argus Pheasant and other laborious and indifferent flyers. Among insects, the contour is exceedingly rare, because unsuitable to their active movements.

Triangular:—Fig. B, the Holocanthus—belonging to the Chetodons.—Here the organ inclines to the triangular form, the rounded margin becomes less convex, and the side rays being lengthened, these boundaries are brought nearer to straight lines.

In C, the rays are still further extended, and consequently, the convex margin more depressed. This is the Jaculator's paddle—a poor swimmer, but an expert gunner. Feeding on insects that hover about aquatic plants, he shoots them with pellets of water ejected from his mouth, and generally with certain and deadly aim. His speed is greater than B, and A, but less than that of the southern King-fish, (D,) in whose propelling blade the sides of the angles are more fully unfolded. Here the exterior rays are longest and the convex margin disappears—the boundary being slightly concave. In the group on the next page, A represents the Toad-fish already mentioned.

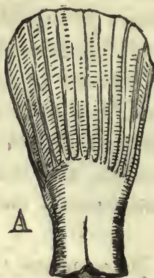
In the fresh water Bass, B, of the next group, the angles are blunted by the shortness of the side or outer rays, though the posterior outline is slightly indented. D, and C, belong to the white and yellow Perch of the Potomac. The former is known to be what the contour of its propeller declares it to be, by much the most agile and swift.

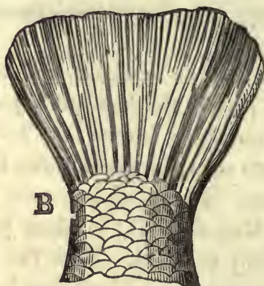
Here the transition of the convex boundary, after ranging at a straight line, (as it does in numerous specimens,) enters upon the concave, one of the marked divisions. With it the propelling organs of several species of birds and insects begin—as thrushes, robins, wrens, quails, rails, and others, which have the three, or more, first pinions corresponding to the outer rays in fishes' propellers, shorter than those adjoining:—the Morpho and Pavonia Genera of Lepidopters may be included.

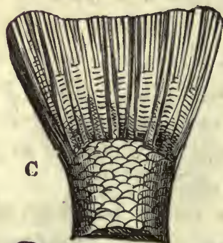
Triangular and Cuspated:—A form prevailing in the paddles of a large portion of the inhabitants of the deep. It is found in amphibia, also, as the seal family, in which the blade is transverse, as the movements of these creatures consist more in diving than in long lateral journeys. (See figure page 85.)

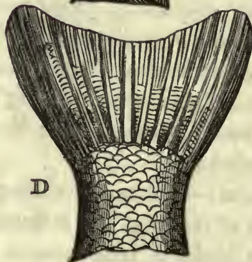
In them, the two hind legs of quadrupeds are thrown back, and approach close at the heels; the feet retain each its five toes, which answering the purposes of radial ribs in the tails of fishes, give strength and form to the

SLOW SWIMMERS.









A. Toad Fish.
B. Fresh Water Bass.
C. Yellow Perch of the Potomac.
D. White Perch.

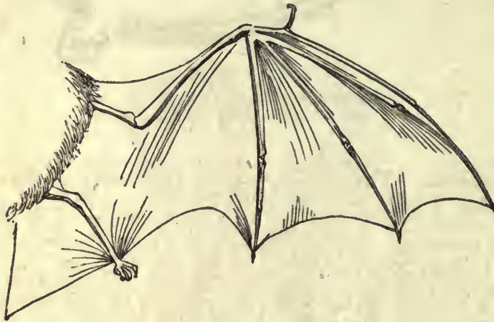
PORPOISE AND SEAL.

connecting membrane. The outside toes are commonly of the same length, like the rays of the King-fish of the Southern States, (D, page 82) while the general outline resembles that of the Yellow Perch, (C, page 84) and both together make a blade after the pattern of the Sea Bass, (C, page 70) exhibiting, moreover, a striking likeness to the paddles of swimming and diving birds. In Sea-Leopards, Sea-Bears, Lions, and kindred animals, each foot becomes lobed, furnishing analogues of ornithologic podiceps. From analogy, these creatures should be better divers than seals, but whether they have been sufficiently observed to determine this point, I know not.

Toads and frogs are other illustrations—the propelling blades of the latter are more pointed than those of the former, and they are known to be by far the best swimmers. Had we been acquainted with frogs only from geological casts, we should have inferred their agility in water from the form of the hind feet, and the long jointed rods that wield them. This tribe of Batrachians has the reputation of surpassing all four-footed creatures in swimming.

Fore and Hind Leg of a Frog, half the natural size.

Bats connecting quadrupeds with birds, have a broad sheet of wing, composed of angular and pointed divisions. Their movements in the air resemble those of butterflies, and although quick in changing their direction of flight, cannot be classed among swift soarers. Both they and Lepidopters illustrate a fact of high import to nautical engineers, viz.—speed does not depend upon a large expanse of wing, so much as upon *form*. It is this that exercises a controlling influence. From examples that follow, it will be found that the fleetest of birds and fish also, are indebted more to contour than surface in their propelling organs.

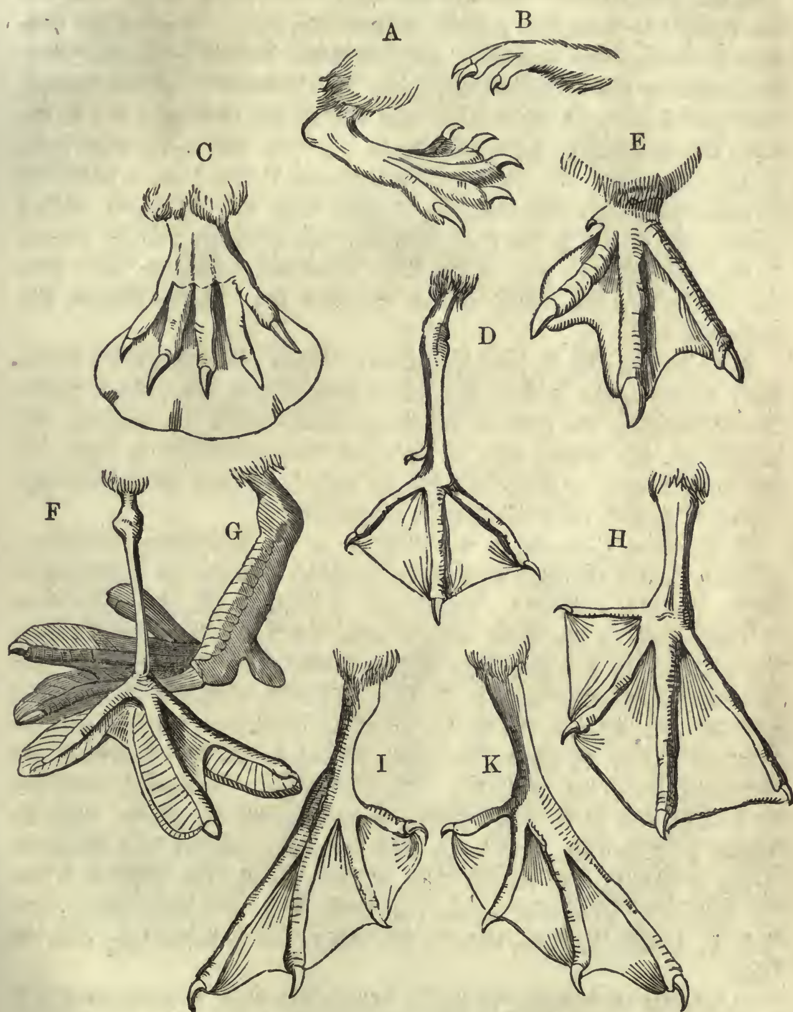


Carolina Bat's Wing, half the natural size.

Frugality in outlay of material, and consequently of power, is seen in every piece of mechanism turned out of nature's workshop. Sufficiency without surplus—enough and not an atom over—are proverbs with her. An example worth mentioning occurs in Bats. In flying organisms the tail is a rudder by which changes in the direction of flight are more or less promptly attained. Most bats prey on flies, which they hunt and swallow on the wing, but some feed on fruits—the latter requiring no such steering apparatus, have none.

The superiority of pointed paddles is rather strangely developed in those of the Musk-rat, (A, B, page 87.) This animal, in its habits and dimensions is akin to the Ornithorynchus, and although it has little or no membrane between its toes—chiefly fringes of hair, which, to some extent, answer the same purpose—it is much the best swimmer. True, its superiority may be in some degree attributable to the use of its tail as a propeller, yet, notwithstanding this, the large undivided membranes of the foreign animal might have been thought sufficient to secure the advantage. Beavers and Otters present other mammalian examples.

Of entomological illustrations of the large division of propelling organs, are sharp angled wings of butterflies, as the Jasius genus, known to surpass all cognate tribes in their flight.



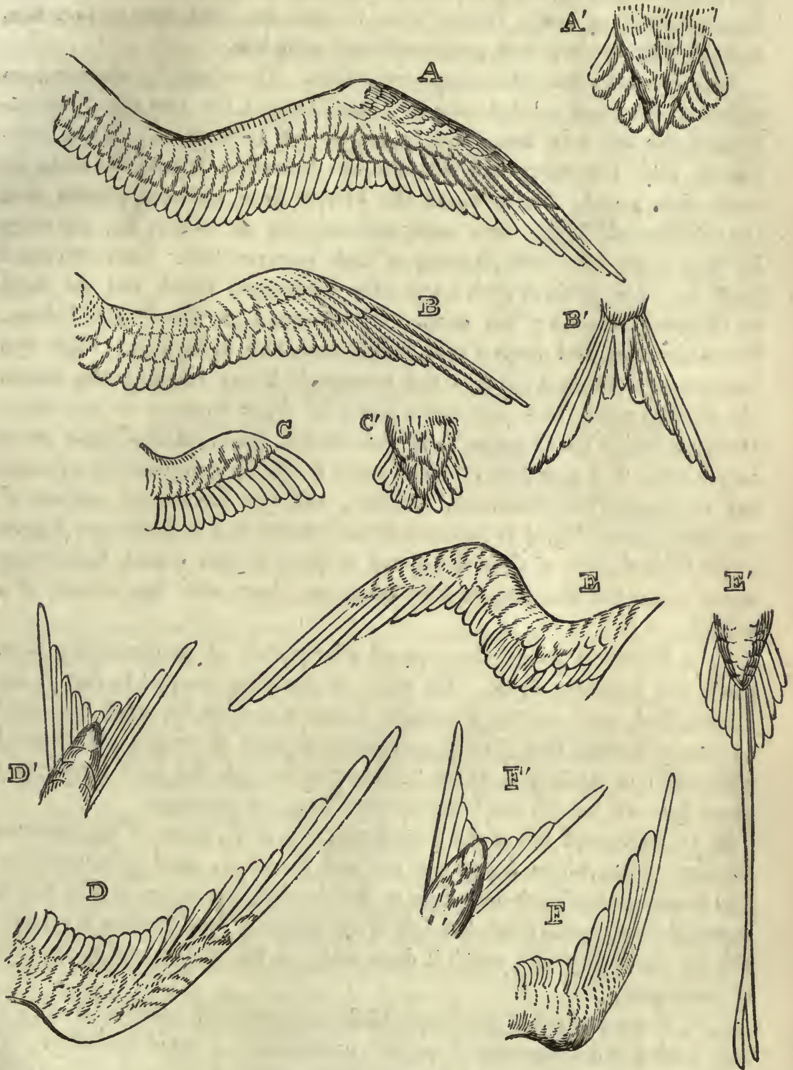
A. B. Feet of the Musk-rat.
C. Fore foot of the Ornithorynchus.
D. Gull. E. Penguin.
F. G. Grebe, or Waterwitch.
H. Fishing Gannet.
I. K. Cormorant.

Of swimming birds' paddles (D, page 87,) represents those of the Gull family—all poor swimmers and worse divers, notwithstanding the expanse of propelling surface. The Penguin (E,) leaves them immeasurably behind, with less face of blade. Quick on the water, and quicker under, Penguins are thought by some the swiftest of swimming birds. They capture their prey by chasing—not by artifice. (H) Left foot of the fishing Gannet—which far surpassing the Gull, does not equal the Cormorant in gliding through the liquid element. A Cormorant's right and left foot are figured at I K, the outer toes of the latter being the longest, and thus making the blade more acutely triangular. The Gannet, Cormorant, and Pelican have an additional membranous section—the hind toes in them being fully developed, while a nucleus only is seen in the Gull, Penguin, and nearly all feathery natants. In the Cormorant the area of the inner membrane is slightly larger than the middle, as it also rather exceeds the outer one. In the Gannet, this order is reversed.

As in aqueous so in ærial propellers: Nature evidently adheres to one law: for speed, she, in these also, adopts long, narrow, and pointed organs. Notwithstanding the different conditions under which the artificial and natural act, this general plan of her's and ours cannot both be right; for the true principles of propulsion are the same in art and nature, although variations in their exhibition may be unavoidable.

In the group (page 89) is the wing, A, of the Wandering Albatross—certainly one of the most remarkable of earth's soarers—for endurance of flight, probably unrivalled. Found over all parts of the Southern Ocean, it seldom rests on the water, save in calm weather. During storms, even the most terrific, it is seen, now dashing through the whirling clouds, and now serenely floating, without the least observable motion of its outspread pinions. The figure in the cut has not the proportions of a specimen in the National Gallery, in which the length exceeds 4 feet—the breadth at the widest part being only 8½ inches. The lower edge of the organ is composed of a single row of feathers, forming an outline thin and sharp; while the upper, or front part, is 1¾ inches thick with bone, covered with numerous layers of plumes. At the last joint, towards the tip, the thickness is over an inch—the transverse section resembling that of a razor-blade. The tail, A′, is only 10 inches wide at the widest, and 8 inches long from the root.

A wing of the Frigate Pelican, or Man-of-War Bird, is represented at B. It is 3 feet 2 inches long, and 8 inches at the greatest width. The body of the bird from the point of its bill to the fork of the tail, (B′,) is 22 inches, and to the extremity 30 inches. The speed of this bird is proverbial, and, by means of its double rudder, it changes the direction of its flight with marked celerity—a property the Albatross has not, because of its short, broad tail. Hunting within the tropics, such is its power of flight, that the air would seem to be its theatre of rest as well as of activity, since it is



A A′, Wing and tail of an Albatross.
B B′, Wing and tail of a Frigate Pelican.
C C′, Wing and tail of a Partridge.
D D′, Wing and tail of the Cape Swift.
E E′, Wing and tail of a Tropic Bird.
F F′, Wing and tail of the Common Swallow.

scarcely ever seen reposing on the water. A pirate by profession, it watches the movements of Gulls, Tropic Birds, Boobies, &c., and, soon as they rise, compels them to drop their prey—seizing it as it falls.

Audubon has some interesting memoranda. The wings, he observes, are extremely long and pointed—the first quill longest, the rest rapidly diminishing: the tail very long—deeply forked—of 12 feathers. When incubating, their long wings and tails are seen extending beyond the nests for more than a foot. Those about the Florida Keys are seen passing with the swiftness of thought over trees, and snapping off, as they fly, dry twigs for their nests, with a single grasp of their powerful bills. Only two other birds he knew perform such a feat—the Forked-tail Hawk and the Swift or Chimney Swallow; but neither are so expert as the Frigate Pelican. Sometimes this bird drops a stick, while travelling to its nest: when this happens over water, it plunges and recovers it before reaching the waves. Mr. A. thinks this bird possesses a power of flight superior to any other. However swiftly the Cayenne Tern, the smaller Gulls, or the Jager move on the wing, it is a matter of mere sport for the Frigate Bird to overtake any of them. The Gos-hawk, Penguin, and Gyr-falcon—the swiftest of our hawks—are obliged to pursue a Green-winged Teal or Passenger Pigeon at the highest pitch of their speed, and at times for half a mile, before they secure them, but the Frigate Bird comes on them with the velocity of a meteor.

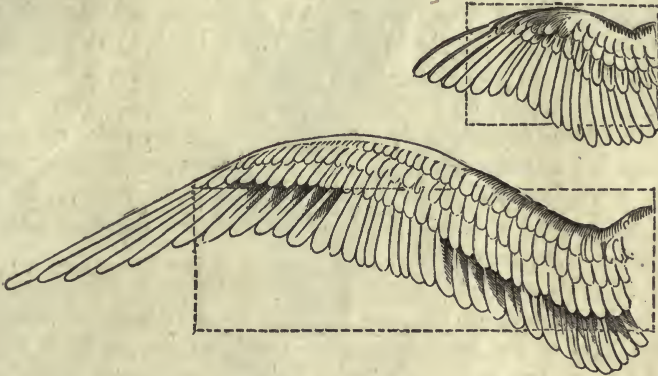
C, A Partridge wing—the type of a large class of comparatively slow, short, and laborious flyers. The width of this wing is equal to that of the Frigate Bird, and yet the Partridge is hardly ever on the wing over half an hour—showing that a short and broad expanse of wing is not attended with rapid or prolonged flight. Its course through the air is usually in a direct line—its tail, C′, not being adapted for quick turnings.

D D′, Wing and tail of the Cape Swift, and F F′, those of the common Swallow—birds whose flights are too well known to need particularizing. The former makes fewer deviations in the air than the latter, and its tail is, as might be expected, much less forked and pointed. The Swallow is remarkable for the facility with which it darts aside, at the acutest angles, in quest of insect-prey.

E E′, Wing and tail of the Tropic Bird—a remarkably quick ærial courser, but, having a development of rudder unfavorable to rapid evolutions, its courses are generally direct. Like the Frigate Bird, it is found soaring over the remotest parts of the ocean. The wings are described as long, acute; primaries strong, tapering—the first quill longest, and the rest rapidly graduated; the tail of twelve feathers—the two middle ones extremely elongated.

In the next cut, a wing of the Partridge and one of the Frigate Bird—*both of a width*—are placed together, illustrating the difference of form and proportions in the wings of slow and quick flyers: the latter extending further into the resisting medium than the former, agreeably to the universal

rule, in aerial as in aqueous propellers, *increased speed* invariably accompanying *increased dip*, and *vice versa.* A rule we have not attempted to follow, and hence the comparative failure of our labored efforts. We cripple the flight of domestic and other birds, by cutting portions from their pinion feathers. So far as flying is concerned, a partridge may be considered a frigate-bird with its wings clipped; and the cod a dolphin with its caudate lobes truncated.



WING OF THE PARTRIDGE AND MAN OF WAR BIRD.

For vigor and activity of wing, the *Tern* families are celebrated, and there is a strong resemblance in the conformation of their wings and tails to those of the Tropic Bird: the Arctic Jager, a most active plunderer, no sooner perceives a Gull to have made a successful plunge, than he pounces on and makes it yield its prize. His wings are long, narrow, and very acute: so are those of the Shearwaters—a class of oceanic plunderers whose flights are extremely rapid and protracted.

Lobated:—In this division, indentation is carried so far as to change a propelling blade into two or more distinct organs, one governed by each toe. The Grebe, among birds, furnishes an example, see page 87, from specimens common to the Potomac, where they are proverbial for aquatic speed and agility, disappearing at the flash of the sportsman's gun, so that ere the shot reach their position, they are yards below it. With flint locks, they are hardly ever hit, and even dodge the best percussion caps. They rarely fly; their wings are imperfectly developed, and they have scarcely the rudiments of a tail. Water is their proper element, and in the levers by which they work their paddles, a remarkable display of design is manifested, in so shaping the bones of the legs as to impart the greatest strength with the least material, and of such a form as to encounter the least resistance in the direction in which they act. In the figures exhibitng this feature, G, is a side view, and F, a front one; hence, the section instead of a circle, as in other birds, is rather like that of a knife blade.

In Grebes, Penguins, and Cormorants, the legs are placed far behind, so

much so, that to preserve the centre of gravity, when standing on shore, they have to throw their bodies in a perpendicular position.

Of insects, whose organs of motion may be classed among lobates, is the Sphinx, or Hawk Moth family, remarkable for their narrow and elongated wings. Then there is the boldest, fleetest, and most voracious of insectivora —the Dragon-Fly—preying on bees, wasps, and hornets, and more readily overtaking the larger-winged butterflies.

But, in the tails of fishes, this feature is elaborated, and its results made still more manifest. In the White and Yellow Perch, C, D, page 84, the nuclei of lobes are perceived. From such the indentation is deepened by imperceptible degrees, till two distinct lobes are unfolded. There is, moreover, a wonderful diversity in the contours of these lobates which often exhibit a strange lack of uniformity in the same fish—sometimes the upper surpassing in dimensions the lower one, and sometimes the reverse. In other tribes, the material of both is nearly all gathered into the upper lobe, as in the shark and sturgeon families.

The following are a few specimens, selected almost at random with the view to show that speed increases as lobes are developed and elongated. A, the Pagel of the Mediterranean—a variety of the family of Porgees. The lobes are but moderately disclosed, still indentation is carried much farther than in the Potomac Perch, and is accompanied with superior agility and speed. In this and the following figures, [which are not drawn to one scale] the dotted lines show how our Engineers dispose of the same amount of propelling surface.

B. The Salmon, showing a further extension of lobe. It is unnecessary to refer to its habits, since they are universally known. Its ascent of rapid streams, and the leaps it takes up cataracts, suffice to disclose its superiority over single-lobed or fan-tailed genera in suppleness and speed.

C. An American Dace, from the Saskatchewan river—a lively and rapid swimmer.

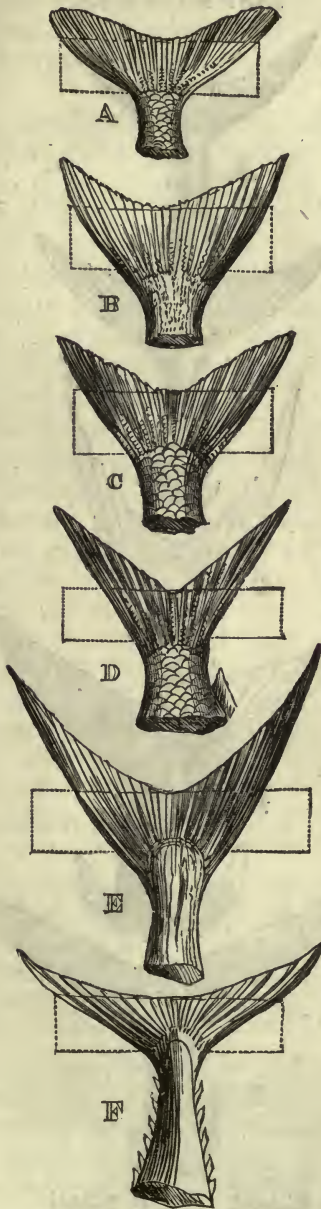
D. American Herring—in which indentation is deeper, and the lobes more pointed.

E. Sword Fish of the Atlantic, with whose sharp and elongated propelling blade speed is instinctively associated. The momentum acquired by its velocity may be imagined from the fact of its weapon having been repeatedly driven through the solid timbers of a ship.

F. Bonita—with lobes more diverging than those of the Sword Fish—a well-known oceanic forager, from whose theatres of depredation few of its prey can escape by flight.

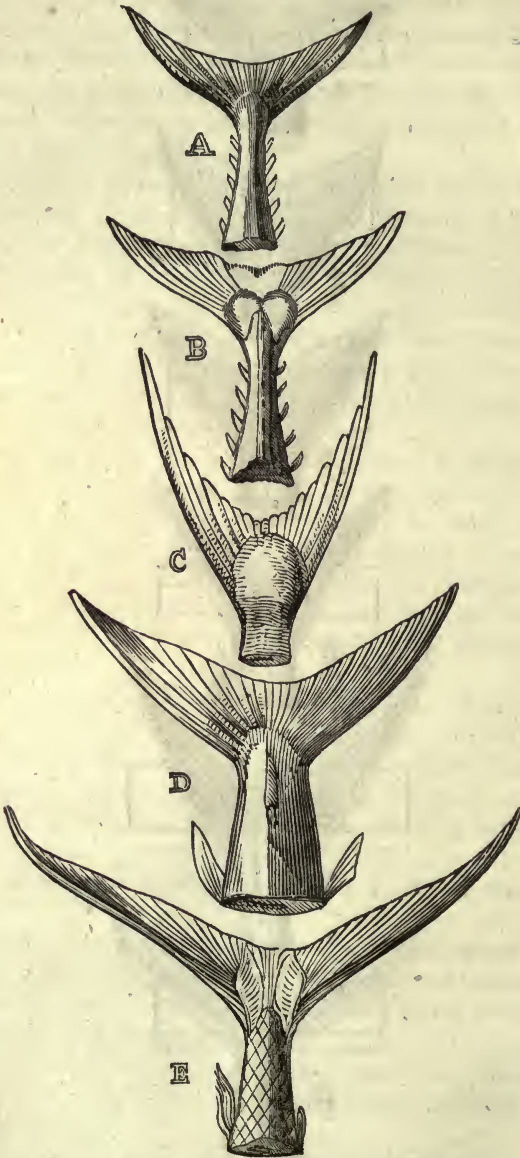
On page 94 is another group of well-known quick swimmers. A. European Mackerel. B. Tunny—formed after the mackerel model, on a larger scale.

C. Dolphin—accounted one of the quickest of swimmers. Excessively voracious, it hunts its prey with impetuous speed. It is a terrible enemy to



A. Pagel of the Mediteraanean.
B. Salmon.
C. Saskatchewan Dace.
D. American Herring.
E. Sword Fish.
F. Bonita.

FAST SWIMMERS.



A. European Mackerel. C. Dolphin.
B. Tunny. D Common Sword Fish.
E. East-Indian Sword Fish.

Flying-Fish and other small aquatic game. It plays round ships under full sail, apparently without the slightest effort. A specimen of this fish in the Natural Collection measures two feet from the nose to the point of lobal divergement. The lobes are ten inches long, and one and a half wide at their junction.

D. The common, compared with E., the East-Indian, Sword Fish—which last is probably the swiftest of all known swimmers.

A decided proof of the superior power of lobated or forked propellers is furnished in the tails of Whales. Breathing air, they cannot remain long under the surface without suffocation; hence it is essential that they have the power of rapid descent and ascent. With this view, their propelling lobes are transverse—and with what velocity they dive, is too well known to need citation. Porpoises (see page 85,) are further examples—and with what speed a shoal of them will approach a ship from a distance—pass her—and disappear away in the horizon—navigators are familiar.

The next group contains specimens of unequal lobes. Tribes which seize their prey in the act of diving, have the upper one longest—by which means they are enabled to move with the greatest rapidity in the direction most essential to their existence. Sharks exhibit a singular apparent exception to this, since, from the recession of the lower jaw, they are compelled to seize their prey from below. To do this, however, they turn on their backs, and hence the appropriate elongation of the superior propeller. In the Thresher Shark, (B,) this lobe is about the length of the body. The lobe of one in the National Collection is 6 feet 7 inches long, 11 inches wide where it joins the body, and 5 inches at the middle. In traversing the ocean diagonally, this animal would undoubtedly beat the East Indian Sword Fish; but in a race laterally, the latter would leave the Thresher behind.

C, one of the strongest swimmers. A blow of a sturgeon's tail, has broken a fisherman's leg.

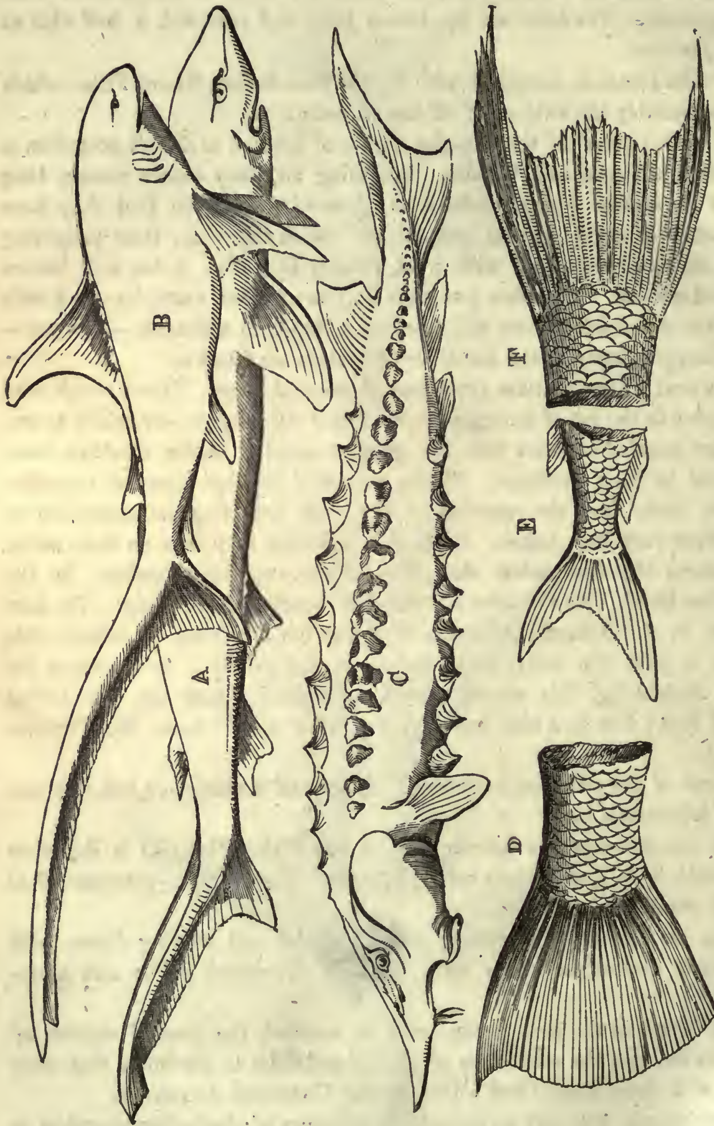
The elongation of the inferior lobe of the Flying-Fish (E,) is doubtless to enable it to spring more readily into air. The singular contours of D and F, mark other varieties.

Thus we find Nature cutting away material and altering forms, with the nicest discrimination, to meet infinitely diversified habits and movements.*

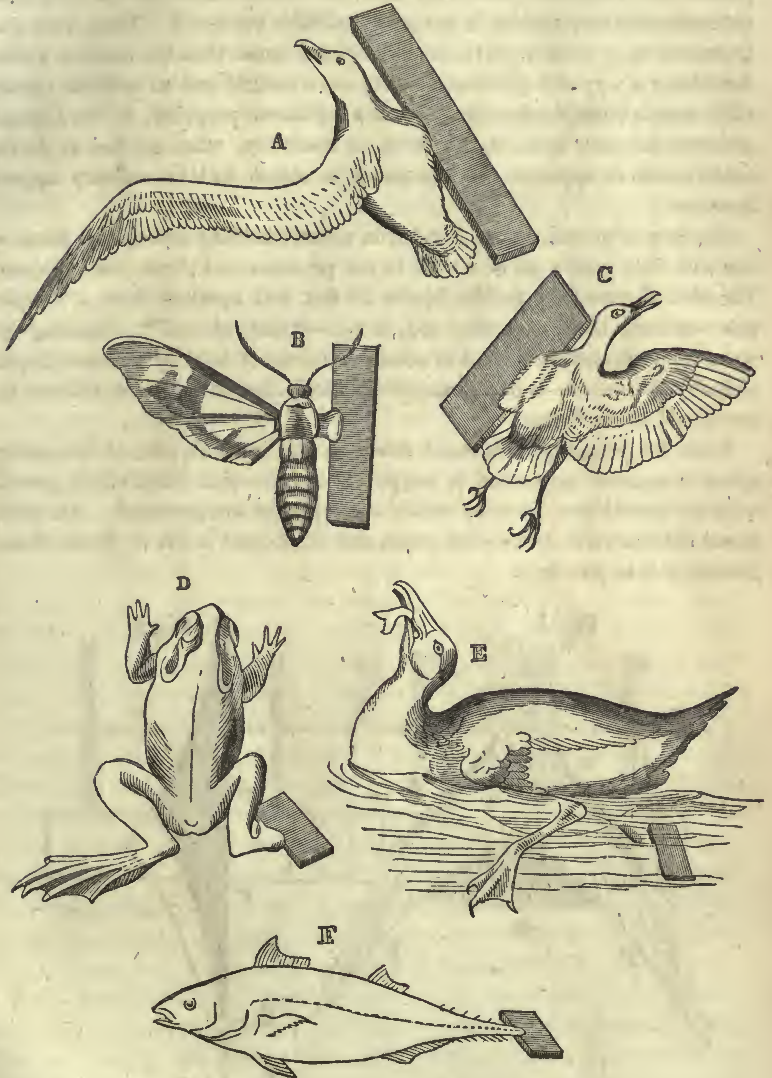
The figures in the next group serve to contrast the general contour of our paddles, and the connection of their broad sides to the levers that work them, with those shaped and joined by the UNERRING ARTIFICER.

Some minds are only awakened by extremes of dissimilitude—when a glance often does that which ordinary reasoning fails to accomplish.

* To Titian R. Peale, Esq., one of the naturalists of the Exploring Expedition, and now an examiner in this office, I am indebted for some of the preceding illustrations.



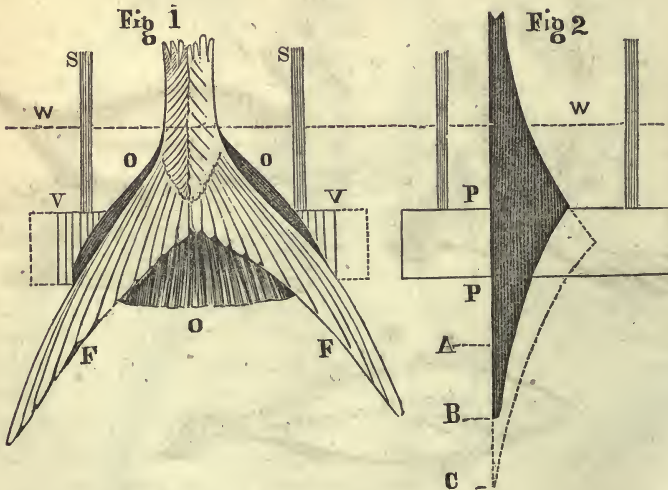
A. Blue Shark. C. Sharp-nosed Sturgeon. E. Flying Fish.
B. Thresher Shark. D. American Aspidiphore. F. Black Bass.


A
B
C
D
E
F

Let it not be imagined that anything like caricature is here intended: the object is simply to make manifest to the eye the difference between the perfect and imperfect; and *that*, under all circumstances, in philosophical or mechanical disquisitions, is not only justifiable but useful. Then, there are thousands more readily convinced through the senses than the intellect alone, Admitting a very wide distinction between a natural and an artificial organ, still, were a parallelogram or a square a legitimate propeller, in the highest or lowest scientific sense of the term, its absurdity, when applied as above, could not be so apparent—so repugnant to reason and to ordinary apprehensions.

The laws of propulsion are founded in nature; nothing can change them—nor will they yield a jot or a tittle to our pre-conceived views and opinions. The idea of extending paddle-blades 20 feet and upwards from a vessel's side—to make them what they are, in fact—"flash wheels"* skimming up water from the surface, instead of obtaining increased hold by increased depth close by the vessel—is one so unphilosophical, that it probably will not be sanctioned much longer.

From the foregoing, it is most manifest, that nature's plan of increasing speed in aqueous organisms, is antipodal to ours—that ideas which prevail with her are wide of those by which our engineers are governed. An additional illustration or two to this point, and the subject is left to those whose interest it is to pursue it.



Let the dark triangular part of the figure (1.) o, o, o, be the caudal paddle of a jaculator, fresh-water bass or cod—all slow swimmers. Now, the problem is, to make the same amount of propelling surface give double or

* Used for throwing water up slight elevations, for irrigational purposes.

treble velocity to other fish of equal or even greater bulk—to impart, for example, the speed of the dolphin to a cod. How is this done? Why, invariably, by bifurcating it and employing the material removed to *extend the lobes* as at F, F. The propelling lever now extends further from the fulcrum, and consequently has not only greater hold on the water, but makes a larger stroke or sweep through it.

Suppose W, W, the water line and the parallelogram V, V, a steamer's blade, attached to the arms S, S. The vessel's speed is required to be increased. How is it attained? Almost always by adding to the surface laterally at V, V. Thus, as has been remarked, the ocean steamers now in progress in New York—supposed to embrace every possible improvement—have the paddle planks 14 feet, (some boats have them 22 feet!) stretching that distance from each side of the vessels; as if half the surface, disposed after nature's mode, would not be equally efficient and with the *same power;* for, saving of power is as essential a result of improvement in form, as of approaching the truth in any other particular.

Suppose P, P, Fig 2. represent one of those enormous blades about to be enlarged to make a vessel go faster, is it not apparent that by altering its figure to that shown by the dark tint, the rule of nature being followed, superior results must ensue; and this not by adding to, but actually dispensing with about one-half of the propelling surface. Were the boundaries extended to the dotted lines, the area would still be nearly one-third less than the original. In this type of blade a quality unknown in common ones is revealed, viz: every horizontal section bears a like amount of strain, and contributes equally to the work done, although their areas differ so materially; thus the portion included between the lines A, P, from the larger sweep it has to take, equals the larger portion between P, P; and for the same reason the section A, B, equals A, P;—*increased range compensating for diminished surface.** In this, also, we see there is nothing accidental, or without deep meaning, in nature's works.

The ordinary mode of increasing the efficacy of paddles has been to widen the levers instead of lengthening them. Thus the jar arising from 14 to 20 feet planks striking the water, is a constant source of destruction to both vessel and machinery, while with blades, as figured above, it is annihilated, and the enormous amount of power consumed by it, saved.

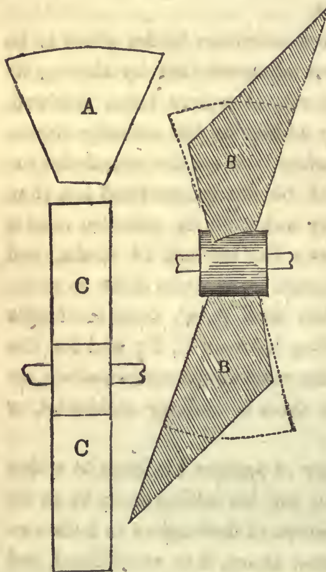
Some boats have wheel-houses wide as their decks, so as to make it doubtful, in the eyes of strangers to such craft, whether the hulls are accessories to them or they to the hulls. Who, on beholding a steamer approach, her sharp bows protruding between two enormous drums, is not reminded of a panting animal borne down between two burdens? As has just been remarked, there are vessels whose paddle-blades are 22 feet planks. Adopt

* This is a point which, I believe, no engineer has yet brought out. The idea is a new one in artificial propelling.

the principle here presented, i. e. throw away the planks, and with them tons of useless wood and iron—cut off nine-tenths of the portions of the shaft extending over the sides—leave nothing on each end but one set of *arms*, which lengthen and fashion after the caudate lobes of the dolphin or sword-fish ; or the wings of the swallow or Frigate-bird—and our steamers, no longer allied to awkward and slow-moving organisms, will resemble, in velocity and flight, those from whom the figure and proportions of their motive organs are borrowed.

If nature ever took extra pains to teach engineers a lesson, she has done it here ; and let them forget not that "Nature and Philosophy are *never* at variance."

Devices for readily lengthening and shortening the arms, so as to vary the dip with the changing draught of a vessel, and accurately to adapt it to the power of her engines, are also worth adopting.



The principle is of course equally applicable to stern submerged propellers, revolving sculls or screws. In these the ancient forms are the latest also. Those last patented were proposed over a century ago. A is an outline of Woodcroft's, patented here in 1846, and in England previously. Those of Stevens, Loper, Ericson, Smith, and a host of others, have the same sectorial form. Their resemblance to the tails of slow-swimming fish is obvious to every eye. Would it not be better to make each more like the lobe of the most agile and swift, as at B, B? A rectangular blade—not unlike one belonging to a paddle-wheel attached to the axis endwise, as at C, C, has also been recommended, though on what grounds it is not easy to perceive. The *Great Britain* steamship had blades resembling those figured at C, C.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON PROPELLERS.

From the specimens of nature's propellers quoted, (and they represent countless millions from every division of the animated kingdom for which air and water are the theatres) we see that those creatures possessing the powers of locomotion in the greatest perfection are furnished, not with re-

markably *large propellers*, but with long, narrow, and pointed ones—in no case bounded by straight lines. There is a meaning, a deep meaning too, which engineers have not yet perceived, in this absence of rectangular and right-lined boundaries, this lengthening, forking and pointing, this uniform effort at angularity.

If it be conceded that nature is an exponent of the Divine Inventor's ideas, and consequently of the truest philosophy of mechanics, that as an economist of power and material she cannot be excelled; and in the forms, adaptations, and results of her machines, she is absolutely perfect; does it not become us to consult her on a subject which she has so profusely illustrated, and attend, as it were, to one course, if not more, of her lectures?

If she has nowhere adopted the figure of our steamers' buckets, (nor anything like them,) in the multiplicity of her submerged propellers, nor in her surface paddles, nor in the motive implements of amphibia, nor in the countless swarms of minute aqueous beings—if, so far from approaching she has carefully avoided it in her swimming and diving myriads, from the leviathan of the ocean to the minnow of brooks and the animalculæ of our cisterns—what are we to think? that she is chargeable with awkwardness in her work, and ignorance in the selection of means proper to her ends? and that the shape we have contrived for urging both large and small bodies through water is better than any of her's? Or, shall we not rather confess that in adhering to ancient practice* we MAY be wrong; and resolve, instead of blundering on longer in the dark, to consult her at once, by testing her forms and proportions against ours?

Then, what is still more eminently significant, she confines not her favorite principles to water, but displays them in as high relief in another fluid; as if to show us by endlessly diversified organisms sporting in different media, the demonstrations of her plans. In the wings of birds, bats, insects, and every ærial soarer, from the condor to the mosquito, as also in the feet of water fowl, from the largest to the smallest, the quickest to the slowest, she tenaciously holds on to *angular forms* and *pointed extremities;* thus elucidating and enforcing her views of the doctrines of propulsion, as relates to both air and water, by arguments enchanting and conclusive.

Admitting to the fullest extent, that artificial organs can seldom follow literally the contours of natural ones, still, is it not remarkable that in the *infinity* of her modifications of propelling blades, she has rejected everything like a parallelogram or a square; and has moreover *never* united the broadside of one to the body that it is to move, or to the levers that are to work it—on the contrary, making the connection invariably at an angle!

* Our steamers' wheels differ in nothing material from those used over twenty centuries ago in Roman galleys. In early printed books the blades of paddle-wheels are figured as now. See the Nuremburg Chronicle of 1493; Rivius' German Translation of Vitruvius in 1548, and editions of Valturius and other old writers on military affairs.

To the last remark it may be objected by the querulous that the *sciurus volans* is an exception. Not so; this, though named one, is not a flying animal; the expansion of skin uniting the fore and hind legs is a buoyant, not a motive implement. It has no play, but merely serves to keep the little creature from descending as quickly on taking a leap, as it otherwise would. Whatever slight progression it makes on passing from one tree to another, over and above what is due to the spring taken at starting, is ascribable to the sinuous or sculling motions of the tail, and this application of that member accords with what naturalists tell us of companies of voyaging squirrels of Lapland, crossing in calm weather rivers, and even extensive lakes. Each individual launches and manages its own canoe—a piece of bark—using its tail as a propeller, and the air as a resisting medium.

There are those who smile at the idea of engineers and machinists studying nature's contrivances, and such, on perusing the preceding suggestions, will deem it a sufficient reply to remind the proposer that steamers are not black-fish, nor paddles salmons' tails or petrels' feet. But minds differently organised think a glance into her work-shops is never amiss, and that the longer the visit the better for the visiter, since there is no art or contrivance —and it is certain that through eternity there never can be one—which has not its prototype in her collections. If we find them not, it is because of inattention, or an imperfect acquaintance with her stores. Perhaps we know not at which of her ateliers to inquire, or are not prepared to appreciate specimens laid before us when we enter.

As already intimated, no person expects to find in living mechanisms exact copies for artificial articulations; but when a mechanical principle, and the instruments through which that principle is manifested, are before us—when we see motion communicated to a class of organs, comprehend their construction, effect of their forms, modes of their action, and dynamic results—there is no difficulty in making such deviations, as difference in materials, powers to be employed, and conditions under which the artificial machine is required to act, may require. It is the perfection of invention thus to *imitate* Nature—the maturity of science and art to tread in her steps.

There is matter of the highest interest and deepest curiosity in this subject of natural propellers. To any single division folios might be dedicated; every step taken in the investigation being attended with the revelation of new truths in mechanical science.

THOS. EWBANK.

Washington, January 16, 1850.

THE END.

8

REPORT

OF

THE CHIEF ENGINEER

TO

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

AT THE

OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY WM. M. BELT.
1850.

REPORT OF THE CHIEF ENGINEER.

Engineer Department,
Washington, November 9, 1849.

Sir: The following report exhibits the progress and condition of the affairs committed to this department during the past year:

FORTIFICATIONS, AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH.

A careful inspection of most of the operations connected with the defences of the seacoast and northern frontiers, and an active correspondence in relation to those that I have not been able personally to examine, enable me to state that these works have advanced as rapidly, during the past year, as was practicable, within the moderate means at command, and under a deficiency in the number of officers that in some cases has been very sensibly felt. The labors have been conducted with characteristic fidelity, intelligence, and attention to economy.

During the last three years, the average of the appropriations for fortifications has been materially below that of several years preceding, and much below what would seem to have been demanded by our weakness at several important points. But, though it is certainly true that we have cause for uneasiness, and need the greater efforts, in respect to these exposed places, it is gratifying to be able to state that the condition of the defences in general is greatly advanced, affording security for a large portion of the border that, within ten years, was either wholly unprotected or incapable of resisting enterprises of even moderate force.

I cannot suppose it necessary for me to discuss here the necessity of a good system of frontier defences, especially of a system of seacoast defences. This whole subject has been frequently under consideration. It has, for a long course of years, received the support, and been deemed the settled policy, of the country, as may be seen by reference to several documents, among which I beg leave to designate one in particular, as being an interesting summary of what has been accomplished, and what was still contemplated. See Document No. 206, House of Representatives, 26th Congress, 1st session. Moreover, while there have been, among high military authorities, diversities of opinion as to the advantages of a highly-fortified frontier when extending along an imaginary line upon land, I am not aware that any doubts have been entertained by such authorities in relation to fortifying the important points of a seaboard.

We know it to have been the invariable practice of all nations possessing a seacoast, and not less of those nations boasting the highest naval power, to fortify their seaports thoroughly, and particularly to multiply those means of resistance in all their great centres of trade and commerce, and around all their naval establishments. And especially do we know

that recent improvements in cannon, and the modern application of steam to naval navigation, have led these powers to renewed anxieties as to the security of their coasts, to a formal review of their means of defence, and to an augmentation of their means of defence by fortifications. This kind of protection is not, as some have thought, an old necessity, made obsolete by modern improvements in the instruments of maritime warfare: it, on the contrary, has been made by these improvements more than ever indispensable. An enemy can now come with a suddenness forbidding the use of other kinds of preparation—even of those extemporaneous resorts to which some would intrust the protection of all the places on the coast. He can now enter by avenues before sealed up by bars and shoals. We can gain no time from adverse winds and tempestuous seasons for an organization or array of defensive means; and he will allow us to find no security in distance.

These late improvements, however, while they increase the necessity for a system of defence that shall be always ready and always efficient, do not, happily, lessen the relative power of these defences with respect to the means of attack. Additional batteries will now be required, because the shallow channels also must be commanded; but, gun for gun, the new relation is more in favor of the forts than the old, because the war steamer, which to so great an extent is now substituted for the sailing vessel of war, while she carries fewer guns, exposes a larger vulnerable surface to the fire of the batteries; and the Paixhan shell, which, in the timbers, between the decks, and among the machinery of the steamer, must be a dreadful missile, will, in return, have even less effect upon the massive masonry of the fortifications than the solid shot which it has displaced.

The superintending engineer officers, in preparing estimates for the next fiscal year, have considered severally what was required by the general system of defence, and what by the economical interests of their particular works: in other words, they have studied how best to advance the system, and at the same time lessen the final cost of the portion in their hands. It would be greatly to the advantage of the country, on the score of ultimate cost—to say nothing of an earlier state of security—to grant the full amount of these estimates. But on the supposition that the government would desire to conform more nearly to the average expenditures of former years, I have greatly moderated the demands of the officers. The estimate handed in by the Engineer Department is, by $765,628, less than the sum of those furnished by the officers. Should any political urgency arise before the action thereon by Congress, it may be necessary to ask for a considerable increase in the amounts of the estimates.

In presenting a true statement of the condition and wants of this portion of the public service, I acquit myself of my merely official duty. But, in the full knowledge of our weakness at many points, and under a deep conviction of the grave consequences likely to flow from delay or tardiness in the prosecution of the system of defence, the duty of patriotism requires that I should urge for it, with all admissible emphasis, the liberal support of the Executive and Congress.

Within the last few years, the indemnity question with France, the McLeod question, the northeastern boundary question, the Oregon question, have each in turn excited public alarm, rousing the people from a

state of indifference, if not security, to look anxiously into the preparations made by the government for their protection. And, in each instance, there has been no little clamor because so much still remained to do. This brief portion of our history is very instructive, as showing how suddenly and unexpectedly, from a state of profound peace, and in relations of amity apparently well settled with all the world, the nation may be brought into a condition where a want of those military preparations which are necessarily the work of time, is felt to be a great fault, as well as a great misfortune. In reference to this duty of preparation, I dare not assume that the present period is one not liable to any such surprise.

Besides the works finished, those in progress, and those under repair—of which more particular mention will now be made—it is of the first necessity that certain new forts should be authorized by Congress, at the earliest day practicable. These will be specified in their respective geographic positions. They have been heretofore recommended by committees of Congress, as well as by the Executive and by this department.

Fort Wayne, and barracks and quarters thereat, Detroit, Michigan.—The fort being finished, the money expended during the year has been applied exclusively to the barracks, quarters, and hospital, with the exception of a small amount necessary to preserve the slopes of earth.

The exterior of the barracks for five companies is nearly completed, with some of the interior finish: two sets of quarters are finished, a third is roofed in, and the foundations of three sets and of a hospital have been laid.

Balance in the treasury, September 30, 1849 - -	$6,486 43
Probable amount to be expended by June 30, 1850 - -	6,486 43
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851 - - - - -	15,000 00

Fort Porter, near Buffalo, New York.—The operations of the year have been confined to slight repairs of the tower and quarters, and the erection of a fence around the public lands.

Balance in the treasury, September 30, 1849 - -	$22,850 00
Probable amount to be expended by June 30, 1850 - -	22,850 00

No appropriation asked for next year.

Fort Niagara, New York.—Operations for the year have been confined to slight repairs. With the available balance of funds, barracks and a new hospital are to be erected, being necessary to the comfort of the garrison.

The estimate of the officer in charge for the next year, $10,000, is for the erection of barracks and storehouses, and for permanent gun-platforms.

Balance in the treasury, September 30, 1849 - - -	$4,100 69
Probable amount to be expended by June 30, 1850 - -	4,100 69

No amount is asked for the next fiscal year.

Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York.—The balance of the appropriation for this work, together with a small sum derived from contingencies of fortifications, has been applied to the repair of barracks and quarters.

No further appropriation asked.

Fort Montgomery, outlet of Lake Champlain, New York.—The work of the season may be summed up as follows: 3,452 cubic yards of masonry have been laid, principally in scarp walls and piers; 21,000 cubic yards of earth have been embanked in the coverface, and 5,000 in the parade; the piling, grillage, and masonry foundations of barracks executed; and several floors have been laid in quarters, gun casemates, and magazines.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$5,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	5,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	-	15,000 00

Fort Knox, narrows of Penobscot, Maine.—Work has been confined to blasting rock and excavation of earth: of the former, 15,050 cubic yards have been removed; of the latter, 10,070 cubic yards. This has exhausted the appropriation. With the amount asked by the officer in charge for the next year, ($75,000,) he would be able to finish the blasting, complete some of the outworks and their communications, and raise the scarp of the main work on two fronts to the height of 20 feet. The Engineer department has, however, kept its estimate much below that sum.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$3,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	3,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - -	-	20,000 00

Fort Preble, Portland, Maine.—The repairs of the quarters and barracks are finished; lightning-rods have been raised on magazines and buildings; drains constructed; pavement laid; a shot furnace erected; gun platforms laid; and the repairs and modifications of this work may now be considered essentially complete. No further appropriation asked.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$900 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	900 00

Fort Scammel, Portland, Maine.—Since October 1, 1848, the sodding of banquette and rampart slopes has been finished. All the traverse circles have been set except at the posterns; the main entrance built up to the height of springing lines of arch; 300 running feet of road have been graded; the masonry of the wharf completed, except setting 140 running feet of coping; the foundation of block-house has been encased with a wall; and sundry minor repairs executed.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$2,300 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	2,300 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	-	5,000 00

Fort Constitution, Portsmouth harbor, New Hampshire.—No repairs have been found necessary during the year, and no appropriation is required.

Fort McClary, Portsmouth harbor, New Hampshire.—Nothing more

has been done during the year than permanently marking the boundaries of the public land and applying some slight repairs to the block-house.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$1,300 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	1,300 00

No further appropriation asked.

Sea-walls on Deer island, Boston harbor, Massachusetts.—These walls remain in good condition. There is a small unexpended balance of funds in hands of agent, applicable to any repairs that may be required. No appropriation is asked.

Protection of Lovell's island, Boston harbor, Massachusetts.—The works are in good condition. A small balance of the appropriation is left, applicable to any future improvements or repairs. No appropriation is asked.

Sea-wall on the Great Brewster, Boston harbor, Massachusetts.—Work was commenced upon this wall during the first days of August. By the 30th September, that part intended for the protection of the "south head" was considerably advanced, for 94 feet from the north angle of the wall was completed and coped; and for 50 feet more the foundation courses were laid. In addition to this, a return was built of about 30 feet, at the north end. It is hoped, if storms do not prevent, that, by the close of the season, about two-thirds of this portion will be completed.

The officer in charge asks, for the next fiscal year, $35,000. With this he proposes to complete the two most important parts of the wall. A comparatively small additional appropriation would suffice for any auxiliary works. The Engineer department has, however, asked for a sum considerably smaller.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$27,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	27,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - -	-	15,000 00

Fort Winthrop, Governor's island, Boston harbor.—The obstacles to the rapid progress of this work have, it is hoped, been removed; and matters are now in train for energetic prosecution. The wharf has been completed; a crane placed thereon; sheds, smithies, and temporary quarters built; scale for weighing stone and sand established. The stone-cutters will be employed during the winter, in force, preparatory to active operations in the spring.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$33,500 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	33,500 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	-	10,000 00

Fort Independence, Boston harbor, Massachusetts.—A large amount of asphalt has been laid during the year on the floors of the casemates and communications, amounting to 66 tons of mastic; the carpentry of the soldiers' barracks, of store-rooms, and bakery, is nearly complete; carpentry of officers' quarters and magazines about half completed; the two shot-furnaces have been finished.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $8,900 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1851 - 8,900 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - - 5,000 00

Fort Warren, Boston harbor, Massachusetts.—The labor of the year has been applied as follows: Continuing and completing the parade wall; building an area-wall along basement of quarters; embanking parapet of main-work and sodding its exterior slope, adjusting ravelin slopes, and making doors, windows, &c., for quarters. The results by measurement are 2,633 cubic yards of masonry, 2,100 square yards of sodding, and 10,000 cubic yards of embankment.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $17,000 00
Probable amount to be expended to 30th June, 1850 - 17,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - 30,000 00

Fort Adams, Newport harbor, Rhode Island.—2,200 cubic yards of masonry have been laid in the permanent wharf, gun-platforms, posterns, and terrace walls. Over 17,000 square feet of stone have been cut; 1,100 square yards of pavement laid; 4,800 square yards of masonry pointed; 2,500 cubic yards of earth removed; 500 cubic yards of enrockment formed, and 500 cubic yards of stone quarried. Of the last appropriation, $10,000 were retained for the commencement of permanent quarters.

There will be required for the next year, (including the amount of $15,000 applicable to quarters, hospital, &c.,) for the permanent wharf, for coping of sundry parts, for an iron railing around the parade wall, pointing and small repairs, the sum of $35,000.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $20,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 - 20,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - 35,000 00

Fort Griswold, New London harbor, Connecticut.—Nothing has been done at this work during the year except pointing the breast-height walls of the battery.

No further appropriation is now asked.

Fort Trumbull, New London harbor, Connecticut.—Labor during the year has been applied as follows: Building the exterior columbiad battery and grading the ground in its vicinity; completing the asphalting of the casemate roofs; laying pavements; advancing the interior finish of the casemate quarters; completing the pointing of all the masonry; grading parade of the north exterior battery, and advancing many of the minor details of the work.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $5,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 - 5,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - - 10,000 00

Fort Schuyler, Long Island sound, New York.—The labor of the year

has been applied as follows: 2,257 square yards of stone flagging in casemates, vaults, and galleries; 443 running feet of scarp coping; 1,229 square yards of scarp-wall pointed; 265 cubic yards of masonry; painting all the wood-work of the quarters and gates of the fort; grading the entire glacis of the water batteries, and putting up the iron railing of the casemate gallery and along the gorge curtain, for a length of 1,006 feet. The officer in charge calls for $45,000; but this department feels constrained to reduce the amount of the estimate as below:

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$3,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	3,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	15,000 00

Repairs of Fort Wood, Bedlow's island, New York.—During the year the operations on this island have been mostly confined to the barracks, quarters, storehouses, and bakery. Every endeavor has been made to render the fort habitable by a garrison, in order to meet the urgent wants of the line of the army; but the work has been materially delayed, first by the necessity of quartering troops in the barracks while still in an unfinished state, and afterwards by the occupation of the whole island by the commissioners of emigration of New York as an hospital during the prevalence of the cholera; this occupation lasted four months, during which time, of course, nothing could be done by this department. In addition to the accommodations provided for the troops, labor has been applied to the following objects, viz: excavation of the ditches to an extent of 7,600 cubic yards; construction of permanent platforms for barbette guns of the main work, and the advancement of the sea-wall and the necessary embankment in rear of it.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - -	$6,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	6,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851, including the construction of a permanent wharf - - - - - -	25,000 00

Fort Hamilton, New York harbor.—For two years previous to September 30, 1848, the principal object to be attained in the repairs of this fort was to secure the casemates from the injury resulting from water filtering through the masonry of the arches. This object has been accomplished, and the operations, by which it was secured, terminated in November last. Since that time, the main objects have been to increase the strength of the place by establishing additional guns on its land fronts, and to render the casemates habitable and healthy. Labor has been applied to both these purposes, and to others subordinate thereto, since the 1st of last July, at which time the appropriation for these repairs became available. Before the termination of the working season, the arrangements will be completed for mounting twenty additional barbette guns on the land fronts of the fort and on the redoubt. Most of the material for refitting all the casemates of the east front is purchased; most of the wood-work is got out and ready to be put up, but funds are wanting to complete this operation; and it will have to be suspended, in view of the greater necessity of preparing for the armament.

Besides the completion of the repairs, it is proposed, with the funds now asked, to replace the decaying wharf with a new one of stone. The estimate of the officer in charge is - - - - $29,500 00
Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - 800 00
Probable amount to be expended by the 30th June, 1850 - 800 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - - 20,000 00

Repairs of Fort Lafayette, New York harbor.—During the present working season, two new shot furnaces have been erected and will be completed, the doors of the two magazines have received a protection of masonry, and this arrangement will be completed by the addition of roofs.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $2,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 - 2,000 00
No appropriation is asked for next year.

Repairs of works on Staten island, New York—Fort Richmond.—During the year the works have progressed steadily and to an extent proportioned to the available means, having resulted in building up the entire scarp of the fort an average height of two feet; all the casemate piers of two fronts; half of the third front and half of the magazines of the gorge front, and average height of three feet or to the level of eleven feet above the foundations, and 240 feet in the length of sea-wall, an average height of nine feet, requiring 946 cubic yards of cut stone masonry, 931 cubic yards of rubble masonry, 507 cubic yards of concrete masonry, 47 cubic yards of brick masonry; the excavation and removal of 2,324 cubic yards of sand; cutting 21,784 cubic feet of stone, and driving 159 piles.

To progress with the construction of this work the next year, the most advantageous sum to be applied thereto would be $75,000, with which one tier of casemates and the counterscarp of the gorge front could be built up; thus affording a closed battery flanking the approach to the narrows, ready to receive its armament in case of emergency, without interfering with the further progress of the work. Any sum short of this would be applied to the scarp, piers, and arches of the first tier of casemates and counterscarp of the gorge front, in the order specified, and to the extent such sum would permit.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - $14,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 - 14,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - - 60,000 00

Sandy Hook, New York harbor.—I must again advert to the necessity for the commencement of a fort at this place; and to that end, in a separate communication, the support of the government for this project will be solicited.

Fort Delaware, Delaware river.—During the past year the dike surrounding the island has been repaired and strengthened, and the wharves repaired. The excavation for the foundations of the work, commenced in August, 1848, was completed in April, 1849; the entire quantity of earth and old foundation removed being 39,554 cubic yards. On the completion of this, the piling was commenced and carried on as rapidly

as possible. At the close of September last, 4,356 piles had been driven. For the remainder of the piles and the grillage, the available funds will be sufficient and leave a small balance for the temporary buildings needed. To commence the masonry of the work, an additional appropriation is necessary. The officer in charge reports that $200,000 might be economically applied during the next fiscal year; but in view of the other wants of the service, I shall only ask for the amount stated below.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$38,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	38,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	50,000 00

Fort on Sollers' Point flats, Baltimore harbor.—Since the date of the last annual report the scow, steam pile-driving machine, and lighter for the transportation of heavy bodies, then under construction, have been completed.

The fort has been located on the site designated for its situation, and its trace laid out and marked on the shoal. The nature of the shoal has been ascertained by boring, and a hard foundation found to exist forty-five feet below low-water level. The preparatory platforms or wharves for the construction of sea-walls have been commenced, and 100 running feet of the outer wharf completed. All the piles for the construction of the wharves for two fronts have been procured. A crane for receiving stone and other machinery has been built, ready for erection. A well has been sunk on Sollers' point, 37 feet below the stratum of salt water sand, from which a supply of fresh water is obtained sufficient for the use of the men and steam engines employed on the work, and arrangements made to convey it to the site of the fort.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$36,100 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	36,100 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	50,000 00

Fort Madison, Annapolis, Maryland.—Not having an officer available for the superintendence of this work, the whole of the appropriation of last March remains unexpended.

No further appropriation now asked.

Repairs of Fort Washington, Maryland.—The repairs of this work are completed, and it has been turned over to the line for occupation.

Fort Monroe, Hampton roads, Virginia.—During the past year the stone revetment of the glacis coupé on front No. 5 has been completed, including a surface of 15,000 feet of masonry, with an average depth of 15 inches. There have been prepared and dressed, besides, over 5,000 superficial feet of stone for the scarp-wall of the redoubt, and 1,500 superficial feet for the tide lock. The slopes of the glacis have in various parts been repaired and adjusted. Materials have been collected for the rapid construction of the redoubt when commenced, and the machinery for pumping put in order.

The officer in charge asks for the next fiscal year $40,233, with which he expects to be able to complete the work, $5,000 of it being intended

for the completion of the artesian well already commenced. But the department has felt obliged to reduce the amount asked for, considerably.

Mill Creek bridge and road.—This bridge requires to be refloored, and the road leading thereto, from the fort, to be widened and repaired. The estimated amount for these objects is $800.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849, on account of Fort Monroe - - - - - -	$11,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	11,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	20,000 00

Fort Calhoun, Hampton roads, Virginia.—No work has been done at this fort during the past year. It is expected that the measurements of the present autumn will show such a diminution of subsidence as to justify a recommencement of operations at an early day, in which case it may be necessary to ask for an appropriation. None is asked at present.

Fort Macon and preservation of its site, Beaufort harbor, North Carolina.—A fort keeper has been employed during the year for the preservation of the public property, but no repairs have been applied. Some will be executed during the coming winter.

The means adopted for the preservation of the site seem to be successful. Some repairs and improvements of the jettees will soon be made, out of funds now available, including the construction of a permanent wharf.

No further appropriation asked.

Repairs of Fort Caswell and preservation of its site, Smithville, North Carolina.—Nothing has been done on this work beyond the labor of a fort keeper, who has been employed to take care of public property.

For the preservation of the site another jettee is necessary; for this, materials are now in course of collection, and the jettee will probably be finished by the close of the present fiscal year. Part of the available funds will be applied to the wharf, which will be made permanent.

No further appropriation asked.

Preservation of the site of Fort Moultrie, Charleston, South Carolina.—The breakwater has been extended during the year 497 feet, leaving yet to be completed 360 feet. The finished part of the breakwater effectually protects the shore. It is thus far uninjured by storms. The part of the island not yet protected is wearing away at a rapid rate.

The officer in charge estimates for the completion of the work $3,500, and adds, that "if the appropriation be deferred to another year, this part of the island and the buildings thereon will probably all be carried away."

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - -	$800 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 - -	800 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	3,500 00

Dike on Drunken Dick shoal, Charleston harbor, South Carolina.—5,851 tons of granite have been used on the dike since the last annual report. The stones now reach the proposed terminus of the dike. All parts of the work, from that which is completed or nearly so, to that

which is barely raised above the surface of the bottom, are causing a rapid accumulation of sand, and there remains no longer a reasonable doubt that it will fulfil the objects of its construction, viz: the security of Fort Moultrie and Sullivan's island. The superintending engineer demands the sum of $65,000, which has been reduced in the estimates of this department to the same small amount that was appropriated last year.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$6,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	6,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851	-	10,000 00

Fort Sumter, Charleston harbor, South Carolina.—Since the last annual report the scarp wall of the battery fronts has been raised nearly seven feet, and of the gorge three and a half feet; the piers to the springing lines of the second story casemate arches, except those at the angles, which remain as they were. It has been ascertained that the rate of subsidence of the foundation is decreasing, although under an increasing weight.

The officer in charge estimates for the service of the next year $115,000, but I feel constrained to limit the call of the department to $40,000.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$26,500 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	26,500 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851	-	40,000 00

Preservation of the site of Fort Johnson, Charleston harbor, South Carolina.—The wooden revetments erected for the protection of the site of Fort Johnson are so far decayed that a severe storm would certainly carry most of them away, and endanger four public buildings, viz: the soldiers' quarters, (a large building built of concrete,) the carpenters' shop, smith shop, and laborers' quarters, and with them would be washed away a large portion of the sandy foundation on which they stand; and in a few years, if not protected, the remaining buildings and the whole point would share the same fate. This point is important to the defence of Charleston, being capable of mounting more than fifty pieces of artillery, bearing effectively upon the channel. In the hands of an enemy, who might approach it from Stono river by land, it would intercept the direct communication between Fort Sumter and the city, and greatly annoy vessels entering or leaving the harbor. As a site for a general hospital for the garrisons of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie it has many advantages, amongst which the ample space and substantial and comfortable buildings belonging to the United States may be mentioned.

The present wooden breakwater will not stand another severe storm, and will not last more than another year, if we should escape our usual equinoxial gale. The present wharf is fast going to decay and will require to be rebuilt soon, or to be repaired at an expense almost equal to the cost of a new one.

Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851	-	$5,000 00

Fort Pulaski, Savannah river, Georgia.—Work was resumed at this fort in December last. The labor of the year has been applied to the follow-

ing objects, viz: enlarging and raising the permanent dikes of the island; grading and adjusting the earthen slopes of the fort; repairing one of the wharves; adjusting gates to feeding canal, and making small repairs.

For the accommodation of a garrison and the preservation of this work, considerable additional labor is required. The exterior buildings should be repaired to fit them for quarters, stores, shops, &c.; the remainder of the dikes enlarged so as to give permanent protection to the island; the masonry pointed; cisterns repaired, with other small repairs and modifications. For these purposes $20,000 will be required. A permanent wharf will also in time be required, to replace the present wooden one.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	15,000 00

Repairs of Fort Jackson, Savannah river, Georgia.—The operations at this work were recommenced in November last, and continued until the 1st of June of the present year, when all work was closed on account of the unhealthy locality of the fort. The labor of the year comprises the following objects, viz: excavating for the foundations of scarp walls of land fronts, and establishing the pile and grillage foundations for the same; completing the embankment of parapet on the river fronts; covering the terreplein of water battery with asphaltum; completing the masonry and wood-work of magazine, and covering it with a slate roof; building the scarp of land fronts to the height of ten feet above its foundation; driving the piles for counterscarp of land fronts; embanking a large quantity of earth in filling up the parade; making and putting up the casings to doors and windows of store-rooms and guard-rooms; constructing the necessary machinery and receiving the required materials.

The labor upon this work was resumed on the 1st instant, and with the funds available the remaining portions of counterscarp foundations on the land and river fronts can be established, a part of the counterscarp wall finished, the scarp-wall raised a few feet higher, and the parade filled with earth to its proper level.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$14,400 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	14,400 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1850 - - -	20,000 00

Proposed fort at the entrance of Cumberland sound, Georgia.—The repeated efforts of the department during the year to complete the title to the site designed to be occupied for the defence of this entrance have failed, and consequently no labors could be undertaken.

The sum now applicable to such a work will suffice for a beginning; so that no further appropriation is asked at present.

Repairs of sea-wall, St. Augustine, Florida.—The appropriation for this work, made at the last session of Congress, not being available until the 1st of July last, no labor was expended upon it prior to that date. In the course of the summer, arrangements were made for the delivery of the necessary materials, and a portion of the required machinery has been repaired. In the course of the coming winter the repairs of the sea-wall

and battery can be completed; the amount now available for that purpose being probably sufficient.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$4,200 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	4,200 00

Pensacola harbor, Florida.—I beg leave to refer, as containing interesting and important statements, to several previous reports from this office on the general value of this harbor for great national purposes.

Fort McRee and preservation of site, Pensacola harbor, Florida.—The operations for the security of the site of this work have been entirely successful, and the foundations are deemed safe. The funds expended have been applied almost exclusively to this object. For any future operations the funds now applicable are deemed to be sufficient.

Fort Pickens, Pensacola harbor, Florida.—Nothing of consequence has been done for Fort Pickens during the year. A new piazza and some slight repairs are required, and will be provided for out of the fund for contingencies of fortifications.

No appropriation now asked.

Fort Barrancas and barracks thereat, Pensacola harbor, Florida. Redoubt.—Since the last report, the progress on this work has, for want of means, been small.

Barracks.—The masonry of four divisions of the barracks, and four kitchens, is now nearly complete. The lower rooms of the barracks and of two kitchens remain to be paved, as well as the walk in front and the floor of the piazza in rear. The windows of the two centre divisions of the barracks, and of two kitchens, are glazed. The carpenter's work of the interior of the barracks and kitchen has been prepared; a part of it put up, and all the remainder is in readiness to be so. The slaters are now at work on the roofs of two divisions of the barracks, and on those of two kitchens. This work will be completed in a few days.

The foundations of the remaining divisions of the northern wing have been raised to the level of the water table, and the walls of the same will be raised as rapidly as materials can be procured.

The estimate of the officer in charge, for Fort Barrancas, for the permanent barracks, and for the purchase of sundry lots and houses, was, for the next fiscal year $101,876; which the engineer department has felt constrained to reduce to $35,000, including $20,000 for the redoubt, and $15,000 for the barracks, at the Barrancas.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851	-	35,000 00

Fort Morgan, Mobile Point, Alabama.—Since last October the permanent wharf has been completed; the required alterations have been made in the magazines; front No. 4 has been graded and planted with Spanish bayonet; 6,841 cubic yards of sand have been added to the glacis of front No. 5; and the partition walls of the lower story of barracks have been built.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$13,252 65
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	13,252 65
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851, chiefly for the construction of additional barracks - - - - - -	15,000 00

Proposed new fort on Dauphin island, Mobile bay, Alabama.—No steps which it was in the power of this office to take to complete the title to the land wanted for the site of this work have been omitted; such title is not yet vested in the United States, however, and consequently operations could not be commenced. There is a balance in the treasury of a former grant which will suffice for the commencement of the work.

Fort Pike and preservation of site, Louisiana.—A very small amount of labor has been applied to this work the past year. With the funds now available it is proposed to make sundry additions for the convenient service of the fort and the comfort of the garrison, including considerable addition to the barrack-room, and to apply some repairs.

To complete the proposed improvements, an additional appropriation will be required; which includes some further work for the preservation of the site.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$8,500 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	8,500 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	5,000 00

Fort Wood and preservation of its site, Louisiana.—Some slight repairs have been applied during the year. The available funds will be exhausted in building an additional story to the citadel, barracks, and in other necessary improvements.

We have, besides, to provide by jettees, revetments, &c., for the security of the site, now rapidly encroached upon by the tides; also, to cope the scarp-wall, to construct a bridge over the outer ditch, and to make sundry minor improvements, which require an additional appropriation.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$7,500 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	7,500 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	10,000 00

Battery Bienvenue, Louisiana.—This work has been in charge of a fort keeper during the past year. The officer of engineers in charge reports the necessity of some improvements and repairs requiring a small appropriation, which is accordingly asked.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	4,000 00

Tower Duprés, Louisiana.—This work has been in charge of a fort-keeper during the year.

It has become necessary to substitute stone gun-platforms for the existing wooden ones, which are now decaying. To provide for this and the

payment of a fort keeper, and small contingent expenses, an appropriation is asked.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	2,000 00

Proposed tower and battery at Proctor's Landing, Lake Borgne, Louisiana.—In reference to this work, I must repeat my statement of last year, namely, that it is indispensable to the security of New Orleans that a work be constructed at this position without further delay. A separate estimate of $50,000 will be handed in, in the hope that it will find favor with the Executive and Congress.

Several previous reports from this office have urged this necessity at some length.

Fort Jackson, Mississippi river, Louisiana.—The operations of the year have been confined to deepening the ditch to an unfordable depth. This has been accomplished, though the cost of it was considerably increased by the prevalence of the cholera at the post. An unusually high stage of water in the Mississippi river has shown the necessity of additional levees, and the existing appropriations will be absorbed in their construction and the expenses of fort-keeping.

For the next year the officer in charge estimates for $35,000, to be applied to the construction of a new exterior battery, to the conversion of part of the covert-way into an additional water-battery, and to sundry minor improvements. I have, however, reduced the estimate nearly one-half.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$15,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	15,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	20,000 00

Fort St. Philip, Mississippi river, Louisiana.—The labor of the year has been applied as follows: Constructing a wharf, laying 28 permanent gun-platforms in lower exterior battery-building, breast-height walls of this battery and breast-height walls of gorge of upper battery; constructing service magazines for these two batteries; collecting the timber for revetting the ditches of both batteries.

To complete the repairs of this fort, the officer in charge estimates an amount of $60,000; for the next year, however, this department asks for little more than half of the above sum.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$28,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	28,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - . - -	35,000 00

Fort Livingston, Grand Terre island, Louisiana.—The settlement still continuing in this work, it has not been judged expedient to complete it during the past year. A small force has been employed in pointing masonry, and wheeling additional earth on the glacis; and materials have been collected for completing most of the work now remaining to be done. It cannot yet be decided whether it will be judicious to go on with the completion of the work during the ensuing year; but it is believed that it will

not be necessary to delay it much longer. The settlement will not, in any degree, impair the efficiency of the fort.

The amount of work remaining to be done is not great. Completing the breast-height walls, (partially built;) setting gun-traverses, for which the stone is on hand; shaping and sodding the parapets, terrepleins, and glacis; fitting up the casemates, putting up bridge and draw-bridge, and a few other operations of a minor nature.

The temporary quarters also require some repairs to render them available for a garrison, and fences are in the course of construction to enclose them and the necessary grounds.

The balance of existing appropriation will suffice, it is believed, for these objects.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$21,961 62
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	21,961 62

Fortifications at Key West, Florida.—During the past year the foundations of this work have been advanced to the following extent: On the three channel fronts and the southeast gorge bastion, the masonry has been raised to eight feet above the bottom, and on the curtain of the gorge to six feet, excepting an opening in the latter left for the passage of lighters into the interior; 24,700 cubic feet of granite have been laid, and 17,155 cubic feet additional have been received, ready for laying; 5,000 cubic feet of stone, found on the island, have also been worked in.

In addition to this, the breakwater covering the gorge front and its platform, together with the inner platforms on this and on the north and south fronts, have been built during the year.

The officer in charge recommends for the work of the next year the completion of the masonry of the scarp to the level of the first tier of embrasures; the filling of the interior and some accessory work. This would place the work in security from the violent storms that prevail there, and the propriety and ultimate economy of the course cannot be doubted. But it would require an additional appropriation of $100,000; and in view of the wants of other branches of the service, I feel constrained to limit my call to a smaller amount. I shall therefore ask for a smaller sum, and endeavor to effect the desired object as far as practicable with that.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849	-	$62,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850	-	62,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - -	-	75,000 00

Fortifications on Garden Key, Tortugas islands, Florida.—The operations here have been confined principally to the counterscarp wall of the work, to finishing the interior of permanent quarters for officers, and to the construction of a permanent cistern to the quarters.

The foundation of the counterscarp wall is laid by means of a coffer-dam, from which the water is pumped out; the depth being from 5 to 8 feet, according to the tide. There has been completed, during the past season, 510 running feet of coffer-dam, either entirely or partially constructed. The whole amount of masonry laid in this wall, during the year, is 1,815 cubic yards; comprising 959 cubic yards of concrete in the foundation, and 571 cubic yards of concrete, and 285 cubic yards of brick

masonry in the superstructure. The amount of sand excavated for bed of foundation is 973 cubic yards, and has been made at an average depth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface of the water.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$37,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	37,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - - -	50,000 00

Military stations on the route to Oregon and California.—The first station *Fort Kearny,* at the head of Grand island, on the Platte river, 310 miles from Fort Leavenworth, by the travelled route.

In the fall of 1848, three temporary buildings were erected for quarters of officers and men (two companies)—a bakery, and stables for the horses of one company each, also temporary; and a large adobe storehouse finished.

During the present season a framed hospital has been erected, containing four rooms below, and two attic rooms; a two-story building for officers' quarters, containing four rooms in each story, and two attic rooms, is also nearly finished; and a two-story building for soldiers' quarters is under way, and will be finished before winter.

A good temporary magazine has also been erected, and 100,000 bricks have been burnt.

During the coming year another double block, or two single blocks, of officers', and another block of soldiers' quarters, may be erected; but to complete the works with quarters for two companies, another appropriation will be necessary.

The second station has been located 337 miles west of Fort Kearny, on the Laramie river, one mile above its junction with the Platte. The old adobe work called Fort Laramie has been purchased, which has obviated the necessity of wasting time on temporary buildings.

The buildings now under way, and which are expected to be ready for use before winter, are, a two-story block of officers' quarters, containing 16 rooms; a block of soldiers' quarters, intended for one company, but which will be occupied by two during the coming winter; a permanent bakery, and two stables for one company each.

The only buildings that can be erected next year, with the means now available, are, another block of officers' quarters, and a hospital. To complete the post for a garrison of three companies, an additional appropriation is necessary. Indeed, the sum hitherto appropriated, $18,000, would hardly build a range of stables for two light artillery companies at an eastern post.

The events of the last eighteen months have added greatly to the importance of Forts Kearny and Laramie. Nearly 8,000 wagons, 30,000 people, and 80,000 draught animals have passed along this thoroughfare on the way to California, Oregon, and the Salt lake. The engineer officer superintending the erection of the works and buildings reports it as very desirable that all should be finished soon, and without exacting too much labor from the mounted troops, who should be held in readiness for more important duties. He also states his belief, if the requisite appropriations are made early in the next session of Congress, that both works will be finished in 1850.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 - - - - - -	$10,000 00	
Balance in hands of the agent - - -	5,607 22	
		$15,607 22
Probable amount to be expended by the 30th June, 1850 -		15,607 22
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851, in order to complete the accommodation and the defences at the two positions mentioned above - - - - - -		60,000 00

No returns have been received as to works that may be necessary at any more advanced positions.

BARRACKS, QUARTERS, AND HOSPITALS.

I have to repeat from my report of last year, under this head, that the duty returns upon me of urging upon the favorable consideration of the Executive and Congress some constructions which I deem essential to the defensive system of the Atlantic coast, and also to the comfort, discipline, and health of the garrisons. A general estimate will accordingly be presented for the commencement of permanent barracks on Governor's island, Boston harbor; on Governor's island, New York harbor; for a hospital at Fort Adams, Newport harbor; and for a hospital at Fort Washington.

Cadet barracks and other permanent buildings at West Point.—During the past year, that portion of the barracks west of the main entrance has been entirely completed, and it is now occupied by one-half of the corps of cadets. The foundations of the remaining part of the building have been established, and about one-third of the masonry completed; the necessary drains, and one of the out-buildings, also completed, and about 1,000 cubic yards of rock removed, to form the barrack yard.

It is intended to push forward the masonry during the fall and spring, as far as the available funds will justify, and if the necessary appropriation be granted at the coming session of Congress, the entire building may be completed during the winter of 1850–'51.

Economy of construction, the discipline, instruction, and health of the cadets, require the speedy completion of this building.

Balance in the treasury on the 30th September, 1849 -	$20,000 00
Probable amount to be expended by 30th June, 1850 -	20,000 00
Estimate of amount required to be appropriated for fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851 - - - -	48,500 00

For the hospital of enlisted men, for riding hall, and for mess hall.—The superintendent asks that the appropriated balances of the original estimates may be granted, in order to their completion.

He also asks the sum of $3,000 for the construction of a permanent building for a *guard-house and commissary store*—much needed at the post; that sum being for the total cost under the estimate and plan.

The letter of the superintendent, in explanation of his estimates for the above-mentioned buildings, and for the Military Academy generally, accompanies this report.

BOARD OF ENGINEERS.

The board of engineers connected with the system of defence on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico frontiers, consisting of Colonel Thayer, Lieutenant Colonel De Russy, Major Delafield, Brevet Colonel Mansfield, and Brevet Colonel Lee, have, at such times as could be spared from the separate duties of their several important trusts, been engaged—

On projects for the defence of New Bedford harbor, Massachusetts;

On projects for the occupation of Sandy Hook, New York harbor;

On projects for the disposition of permanent barracks, quarters, and hospital at Fort Adams, Newport harbor, Rhode Island.

In the months of January, February, and March last, this board examined the coast of Florida from Pensacola (West Florida) round to Cumberland sound, Georgia, with particular reference to the application thereto of the general system of defence; and, under special instructions, moreover, to make the earliest report practicable on the reservations of land they might find it necessary for the government to make for sites of future defences. Their report on these reservations was received in this office on the 19th March last, and forwarded to you the next day, with the request that such direction should be given to their recommendations as to permit the immediate action of the General Land Office; it being stated that the reservations therein proposed were the only ones this department would have occasion to ask, for purposes of defence, on the coast of Florida, and that a previous request for a general reservation of the islands of that coast was consequently withdrawn. The general report of this board on the defences necessary to the Florida coast, was received here on the 5th October, 1849.

While the board was at Fort Adams, Rhode Island, engaged in the particular matter of selecting positions for barracks, quarters, and hospital at that place, it became necessary to detach two of the members, to wit: Major Delafield and Colonel Mansfield, to meet, under your orders, some officers of the navy, at the dry-dock in Brooklyn, and confer with them in relation to matters connected with that important structure. The joint report then made was sent to the Navy Department.

In my last annual report I stated that the Executive having determined on sending a joint board of naval and engineer officers to examine the coast of the United States lying on the Pacific ocean, with a view to reports on the sites proper for naval depots; on the harbors suitable for the accommodation of cruisers, and of vessels engaged in commerce; the defences necessary for these, and on other matters connected with those subjects; a detail of engineer officers had been made accordingly. A subsequent change placed Brevet Colonel J. L. Smith on that board instead of Major Chase—Major Ogden and Lieutenant Leadbetter still remaining members thereof.

The members of this joint commission reached San Francisco early in April last, and, while awaiting at that place the arrival from the Atlantic of the vessel designed to convey them along the coast of California and Oregon, applied themselves, under their instructions, in the explorations of that bay and the neighboring coast. In this labor they were kindly assisted by such means as Commodore Jones could, without danger of losing his men by desertion, supply from his squadron.

Colonel Smith writes, in relation to the difficulty of obtaining necessary assistance for the prosecution of their labors, that it would seem, from experience so far, that labor cannot be engaged in that country except at most extravagant cost, and that a continuance of that state of things would greatly retard the prosecution of the duties of the commission. He, however, thought it reasonable to suppose that the great excitement then existing would not endure for any length of time; and that the accession to the population to be expected from the arrival of a large number of passengers known to be on the way, would greatly abate, if not entirely allay it.

The commission would keep itself ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might be afforded them for performing their duties.

I have, in two preceding annual reports, stated the probable necessity, in case of proceeding with a system of permanent defences on the Pacific coast, of relying, for the greater part, upon an organized battalion of engineer soldiers for the execution of the works. That this would be the only certain, and by far the most economical means, as heretofore suggested on the representation of Captain Halleck, of the corps of engineers—an officer perfectly acquainted with the whole of that frontier—is likely to be fully shown by further reports from the above-mentioned commission, which has been instructed to examine and report particularly on the subject.

MILITARY ACADEMY.

I have the pleasure to transmit herewith the report of the board of visiters that was assembled at West Point during the general examination in June last, with all the papers by which it was accompanied. A perusal of the general report, and of the several subordinate reports furnished by the committees on instruction, administration, police, discipline, and fiscal affairs, will afford a clear view of the institution, as presented to these intelligent gentlemen after a minute and thorough investigation of its affairs.

Since the visit of the board, and having had before you their opinions, you have yourself had an opportunity to see something of the establishment, and of the ordinary routine of academical duties; and being thus informed as to the actual state of the academy, you will hardly desire that I should occupy your time by details in relation to an inspection made by me in the early part of October. As to which, however, I will state, in general terms, that I found all things proceeding harmoniously and successfully under the same able supervision and instruction that have for several years sustained the high character of the institution.

The several recommendations made by the board of visiters, with a view to improvements of various kinds, will receive the most careful consideration on the part of the authorities. Those, in particular, on the subject of supplies to cadets of food and other articles may, perhaps, lead to modifications that will lessen their cost to the cadets.

The estimate of the expenses of the Military Academy for the next fiscal year, handed in by the superintendent, is as follows, with the exception of an item of $8,000 for the completion of the riding hall, which has been stricken out by direction.

For current and ordinary expenses - - -	$28,884 00	
For gradual increase, and for the expenses of the library - - - - - - -	1,000 00	
For expenses of the board of visiters, including $517 47 for deficiencies of appropriations for the last fiscal year - - -	2,517 47	
		$32,401 47
To complete hospital for enlisted men - -	2,000 00	
To complete mess hall - - - - -	25,000 00	
For a permanent guard-house and commissary store - - - - - - -	3,000 00	
	30,000 00	
To which the department adds for completion of cadet barracks - - - - - -	48,500 00	
		78,500 00
Total - - - - - - - - - -		$110,901 47

The following is a list of the officers, professors, and teachers of the Military Academy, constituting the academical and military staff on the 30th of September last:

Captain Henry Brewerton, corps of engineers, superintendent and commandant.

Mr. Dennis H. Mahan, A. M., professor of civil and military engineering.

Second Lieutenant Henry L. Eustis, corps of engineers, assistant professor of civil and military engineering.

Second Lieutenant Charles S. Stewart, corps of engineers, acting assistant professor of civil and military engineering.

Mr. William H. C. Bartlett, A. M., professor of natural and experimental philosophy.

First Lieutenant Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d artillery, assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy.

First Lieutenant Daniel T. Van Buren, 2d artillery, acting assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy.

Second Lieutenant and Brevet First Lieutenant William B. Franklin, topographical engineers, acting assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy.

Brevet Second Lieutenant William P. Trowbridge, corps of engineers, on duty in the observatory.

Mr. Albert E. Church, A. M., professor of mathematics.

First Lieutenant Samuel Jones, 1st artillery, assistant professor of mathematics.

First Lieutenant Asher R. Eddy, 1st artillery, acting assistant professor of mathematics.

Second Lieutenant William G. Peck, topographical engineers, acting assistant professor of mathematics.

Second Lieutenant John C. Clark, 4th artillery, acting assistant professor of mathematics.

Mr. Jacob W. Bailey, A. M., professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.

First Lieutenant Francis N. Clarke, 4th artillery, assistant professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.

First Lieutenant and Brevet Captain E. C. Boynton, 1st artillery, acting assistant professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.

Reverend William T. Sprole, chaplain and professor of ethics.

Second Lieutenant George Deshon, ordnance, assistant professor of ethics.

Second Lieutenant and Brevet First Lieutenant Dabney H. Maury, mounted riflemen, acting assistant professor of ethics.

Mr. Robert W. Wier, N. A., professor of drawing.

First Lieutenant Richard S. Smith, 4th artillery, assistant professor of drawing.

Second Lieutenant James W. Abert, topographical engineers, acting assistant professor of drawing.

Captain George W. Cullum, corps of engineers, instructor of practical engineering.

Second Lieutenant and Brevet Captain George B. McClellan, corps of engineers, assistant instructor of practical engineering.

Brevet Second Lieutenant James C. Duane, corps of engineers, assistant instructor of practical engineering.

Brevet Second Lieutenant Rufus A. Roys, corps of engineers, assistant instructor of practical engineering.

Mr. H. R. Agnel, professor of the French language.

First Lieutenant T. D'Oremieulx, 1st infantry, assistant professor of the French language.

First Lieutenant John H. Grelaud, 4th artillery, acting assistant professor of the French language.

Captain Bradford R. Alden, 4th infantry, commandant of cadets, and instructor of infantry tactics.

First Lieutenant John M. Jones, 7th infantry, assistant instructor of infantry tactics.

Second Lieutenant Charles T. Baker, 6th infantry, assistant instructor of infantry tactics.

Second Lieutenant Simon B. Buckner, 6th infantry, assistant instructor of infantry tactics.

Second Lieutenant and Brevet First Lieutenant Henry B. Clitz, 3d infantry, assistant instructor of infantry tactics.

Captain and Brevet Major William H. Shover, 3d artillery, instructor of artillery and cavalry, and commandant of artillery and dragoon detachments.

First Lieutenant and Brevet Major Fitz John Porter, 4th artillery, assistant instructor of artillery.

Second Lieutenant and Brevet First Lieutenant James M. Hawes, 2d dragoons, assistant instructor of cavalry.

Mr. P. De Janon, instructor of the sword exercise.

Military Staff.

Dr. John M. Cuyler, M. D., surgeon.

Dr. Robert Southgate, M. D., assistant surgeon.

First Lieutenant Isaac S. K. Reeves, 1st artillery, adjutant.

Second Lieutenant Barton S. Alexander, corps of engineers, treasurer, and superintending the construction of cadet barracks.

I have here to offer an earnest recommendation that the professor of drawing and the professor of French may be put on the same ground, in respect to allowances, as the professors of engineering, mathematics, ethics, and chemistry. The first-mentioned gentlemen have very laborious and responsible duties; they have shown themselves to be of pre-eminent ability; they have had long experience; and in a long course of service at the academy, have displayed the greatest zeal and industry in their respective departments; and I know no reason why they should not enjoy the same remuneration that is allowed to other academical officers of the same denomination.

For like reasons, the principal assistant professors of French and of drawing should be placed on an equality with other principal assistant professors.

I have once more to urge that the adjutant of the Military Academy may have the same allowances as an adjutant of a regiment of dragoons; and on this point beg leave to refer to a letter from the superintendent to General Haralson, president of the board of visiters, dated June 12, 1847. (See page 613 of papers accompanying the Secretary of War's report, December, 1847.)

OFFICERS OF THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS AND THE COMPANY OF ENGINEER SOLDIERS.

The employment of the officers of engineers during the past year may be stated as follows:

In the office of the engineer department - - - -	2
Engaged in the construction and repair of fortifications and works connected therewith, 24 officers, acting as principals, and 6 officers as assistants merely - - -	30
On the coast of the Pacific, as members of a joint military and naval board required to report on the necessary defences, depots, &c., of that coast - - -	3
On detached duty in the military departments, under the orders of the commandants thereof - - -	4
On the coast survey - - - - -	1
At West Point, either on duty in the Military Academy, or in the company of engineer soldiers - - -	9
Total - - - - -	49 officers.

Of the thirty officers engaged in the construction or repair of fortifications, it should be stated that five, in addition to those employments, are charged with the duties of the board of engineers; and, as such board, are engaged on the general subject of the defences on the Atlantic coast.

In speaking, at the opening of this report, of the progress of the system of defence during the year, and praising, as I could not do too highly, the devotion and ability of the officers, I alluded to a deficiency in the number of officers for the proper execution of the labors committed to the corps; and to this point it is my duty now to revert more in detail. This deficiency has been the more sensibly felt, from the late extension of our geographical limits; and it must be more and more so, as population and the business and enterprise of the country shall spread themselves out toward the new borders.

There has been an addition of about four hundred miles to our coast upon the gulf of Mexico within a few years, including a number of ports, to the defence of which Congress must soon be called to assign a fair portion of the public treasure.

Upon the Pacific we have, within a still more recent period, acquired an extent of seaboard equal to the whole seacoast of the old thirteen States, comprising several harbors which demand protection at the earliest day practicable. Their distance from the seat of population and strength, exposing them, in a particular manner, to become the objects of an enemy's enterprises, will require that they should possess within themselves the means of protracted resistance. To our commerce in that sea, likely to be vastly expanded within a brief period, there can be no other refuge, at the breaking out of a war, than these harbors properly fortified. Our military posts upon these shores, never likely to be kept during peace upon a strong footing, must have the means of maintaining themselves, and affording something like protection to the settlements till reinforcements can reach them; and the naval forces that may be cruising in that sea at the opening of a war will not probably be of strength adequate to protect the depôts and other establishments that the necessities and economy of that service shall have planted there; but, on the contrary, may be so comparatively weak as to be themselves, or some of them, in need of shelter.

Even the completion of the great railway by which some persons hope, at an early day, to open a quick communication with that coast, will augment the importance and necessity of such defences. How completely would all the speculations that rest on this becoming the channel of a great trade with the East, be frustrated by the harbors of that coast being occupied by an enemy's squadrons! The contemplated railroad would be an important auxiliary to such defences, greatly increasing their strength and their utility; but without the safe use of these harbors, it could maintain no connexion with the commerce of that sea in time of war. This is not the place, however, to discuss this subject generally; and the preceding remarks on the defences needed on the Pacific, have been made merely to show that it will soon be necessary to detach a considerable number of engineer officers, to be employed there as a board of engineers, and as constructing officers.

Of the officers of engineers (about thirty) now engaged in constructions, five, being officers of rank, have, as before stated, additional duties to perform as members of the board of engineers; nineteen of the superintending engineers have no officers serving with them as assistants; and it has not been possible, for some time past, to give to any of the remaining superintendents, no matter how large and important their works, more than one assistant each. This deficiency of officers is a great detriment to the public interest, because the quality and the quantity of work performed will always depend on the constancy of supervision. The superintending engineer officer is by law the disbursing agent also, and is held accountable for the nature and extent of the expenditures, and for the safety of the public funds. This heavy pecuniary responsibility encroaches sensibly on his time, leaving less of his personal attention applicable to the labors of supervision, and constraining a greater reliance on hired persons over whom, from the nature of things, he can have no control that may not be shaken off by the employee at any moment of pique or caprice. Whenever character and qualifications justify, in a degree, the trust the

superintendent is obliged to repose in such subordinates, a high compensation has to be paid, often much greater than the public allowances to such grades of officers as would be employed as assistants; so that, besides the chances of incompetency, and the want of guaranties as to fidelity, a real extravagance must attend this kind of aid, compared with the expense of maintaining the same number of officers.

Many of the superintending engineer officers, to whom it has been impossible to assign any assistants, have charge, each, of several independent works, in some cases several miles apart; in some cases, separated by hundreds of miles. In all these, it is unavoidable that important public interests are left in the hands of persons without official accountability, and who can be subjected to occasional visits and inspections only. It cannot be necessary to insist on the disadvantages of such a practice.

It seems to be indispensable to a good and responsible supervision, that at each work where the expenditures are more than very moderate, there should be constantly one officer of engineers, at least: if there be any exception to this rule, it would be only where two or three works are in close proximity, so that all may be seen to during the day. In every work of magnitude, or where the daily expenditure has been considerable, experience has shown it to be indispensable to an effective supervision, that there should be, besides the superintending officer, not less than one assistant. Reckoning on these rules, taken at their minimum, and without supposing any works added to those now actually under way, I find twenty additional officers necessary, at this moment, to their proper and economical execution. It is true that some of these works will pass, ere long, out of our hands, but only to be replaced by others: two or three new ones are even now authorized, for which no officer can yet be spared; and there is good reason to suppose that the approaching session will authorize some others of great importance to the security of the coast, as has been before represented. In making this calculation, moreover, I refer only to the portions of the coast of the United States heretofore included in the system of defence. All that shall be added to the duties of the corps of engineers in consequence of the new acquisitions of territory, will increase the necessities of the corps in respect to an accession to its numbers.

It is an important remark to make here that this deficiency involves, inevitably, the employment as superintendents of important and expensive operations, officers who, however proficient in the studies of their profession, have not had the experience in constructions and in out-door business that should precede such responsibilities.

I could add many forcible considerations to those above presented, if I thought they could be necessary. There is one point, however, not yet touched, which is important, and the force of which makes an immediate commencement of the plan of increase requisite: it is this—that an increase of the corps will not be attended with the desired advantages, unless it be made gradually, and by annual additions of a limited number of officers of the lowest grade from graduates of the Military Academy. The law should do three things. It should insist on all the additions being made to the foot of the corps from graduates of the academy. It should restrict the number of additions to be made annually, and it should restrict the promotions within the corps in a corresponding degree. A good selection of officers would thus be secured, and a proper experience would precede

advancement to the higher grades. By this process, and at a very small annual cost, since all the additions would be made from officers who would otherwise be appointed as brevet second lieutenants into some other corps, it would require from four to six years to fill up the corps of engineers to the extent demanded by the wants of the service.

The company of engineer soldiers (sappers, miners, and pontoniers) has during the year, under the careful drill and instruction of its able and zealous officers, dilligently applied itself to the special exercises of this branch of the military force.

The company has not, however, yet had much time to perfect itself therein. Sent a few months after the first enlistments, and while yet but partially instructed except as infantry, into the war of Mexico, although much distinguished for its bravery and good conduct on all occasions, it had few opportunities to display its appropriate characteristics: in those that presented themselves, however, the great value of even the small amount of technical instruction it had received was very apparent. Since its return to West Point, its numbers have been gradually filled up; and having been carefully drilled and instructed, the company shows a proficiency and a soldier-like deportment, creditable alike to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

In addition to daily infantry drills, the company has, during the milder season, been much practised in preparing materials for, and executing various kinds of trenches, saps and other field works, and in laying ponton bridges.

Every year, while the cadets of the Military Academy are encamped, it is intended that they shall witness the field labors of the engineer soldiers, and, to a certain extent, participate in them, as being the only means of giving them practical information in military field engineering. And this course was, as far as practicable, adopted last summer.

As this sapper, miner, and pontonier force is new to our service, I may be excused for a remark or two in relation to it, which I shall endeavor to make very brief.

Besides thorough instruction as infantry and light infantry soldiers, which the engineer soldier needs in order to his efficiency when serving in the line of battle, he has a great deal to learn that is peculiar to his arm. He has to lay and take up ponton and other temporary bridges; to form rafts and to provide or prepare, according to the occasion, all other means of crossing streams. He has to remove obstacles from the path of the army when advancing, and to create and arrange them upon its rear when in retreat; to construct batteries, trenches, and intrenchments; to remove or overcome obstacles in assault, piercing through walls, breaking open gates, scaling ramparts; to plant mines for the overthrow of the enemy's defences, and counter-mines for the protection of his own. He has to labor with his own hands at all such operations, at one moment; at another, to assist in directing the similar labors of thousands.

There is a proper, an expeditious, and a certain manner adapted, moreover, to the means at hand, of executing every such military operation, and it is the function of the sapper, miner, and pontonier to understand and to practise them all.

As the occasions for these operations are constantly recurring in the course of a war, the army of every nation having any experience in war has a portion of this special force, which, as it demands a more varied and

lengthened course of instruction than any other part of the military force, diligent care is taken to train during peace.

Equal forecast on our part will cause, at an early day, a material augmentation of our roll of sappers, miners, and pontoniers, because time is indispensable to their formation; and in case of war, every division should be supplied with a number not less than one whole company, thoroughly instructed. It will do little good to add, under that denomination, a company of raw recruits. Under the strongest conviction of this necessity, I trust soon to see at least three companies added to the present one, as has been heretofore recommended.

It may be said of this description of force, that though it will have frequent occasion to co-operate with every other arm of service, it can in no case, either in peace or war, interfere with any. Its functions are of a nature never likely to be assumed by the other arms, because no other could properly execute them, without first going through a special and protracted course of instruction totally different from their own—without, in fact, learning a new and difficult art.

I append to this communication a report from Lieutenant W. H. C. Whiting, of the engineers, on a reconnaissance of a new route from San Antonio de Bexar to El Paso, accompanied by a sketch.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient,

JOS. G. TOTTEN,
Brevet Brigadier General and Chief Engineer.

Hon. Geo. W. Crawford,
Secretary of War.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF VISITERS OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, 1849.

West Point, *June* 18, 1849.

Sir: The undersigned, the board of visiters invited to attend the examination of the cadets of the Military Academy, commencing on the first Monday of the present month, and to take into consideration the various matters suggested in your letter of invitation, met at this place at the time appointed; and, having performed the duties devolving on them, make the following report:

The object of the institution being the education of young men, with a view to their becoming officers in the different arms of the military service of the country, the effort of the board has been to ascertain whether this was accomplished in the manner designed by government; whether the system pursued for the purpose was a proper one; and if so, whether anything was wanting to make it more efficient and available.

The education of the cadets is of two kinds—scientific and military. In some arms of the service both of these are directly brought into requisition; in all arms the union of the two may become valuable and important. The same course of study, therefore, is pursued by all the pupils of the institution; and those who cannot, from want of capacity, or will not, from negligence, attain the excellence in their respective studies which has been fixed upon as the standard, are dismissed from the academy, as their deficiency is from time to time ascertained. But as the degrees of excellence must be as various as there are individuals who accomplish the course prescribed, the opportunity is always afforded, in the

distribution of a graduating class among the different arms of the service, of giving to each the individuals whose acquirements are peculiarly adapted to it. A system of rewards is thus created, under whose strong influences the pupil finds himself from the time he enters the academy until he receives his promotion. A better system could not well be devised, or one more likely to produce constant exertion, either to attain an honorable position or to avoid a dismissal, which, however mild may be its form, must be, at all events, an unpleasant memory, if not an obstacle to success, in after life.

This possibility of dismissal scarcely seems to be sufficiently considered by those upon whom the appointment of cadets depends; and young men are too often sent to the academy who are so totally unfit as to make it a cruelty to subject them to the course of study necessary to qualify them to enter any one corps in the army. Sometimes they are dismissed at once; sometimes they struggle on, year after year, only to be dismissed at last, and after they have acquired habits inconsistent with the pursuits of civil life. Sometimes after dismissal they are returned to the academy by superior authority, only to be dismissed again. Sometimes this occurs more than once in the case of the same individual; and at last the army may receive an officer whose ignorance or insubordination as a cadet has furnished ample proof of his want of ability to command with intelligence or success.

These considerations have suggested to the board to recommend thus prominently in their report, greater care in the bestowal of appointments than has heretofore in all cases been observed, as well to save the cadet from mortification and injury, as the government from discredit and loss; and especially to urge, as vital to the well-being of the institution, that the sentences of dismissal pronounced at the academy should be considered as final and conclusive, unless upon the clearest and most satisfactory evidence that gross wrong has been done to the individual. Unless this last recommendation should be acted upon uniformly, there is much reason to fear that all the salutary influences of a rigid discipline will be lost to the institution, and the authority of the academic board grow into a matter of contempt.

The board have attended regularly the examination of the cadets in their respective studies from day to day, and have compared the impression made by their several performances with the record showing their standing from week to week during the term. They have also, as far as they have deemed it necessary, by a change of propositions and the suggestion of incidental questions, tested the character of the examination, and have come unhesitatingly to the conclusion that the method of instruction is admirable and the instruction itself most thorough and full. To pass the examination at West Point, the cadet must understand what has been taught him. No exercise here can be committed to memory and glibly parroted as a string of words. The commendations of the board, thus cheerfully expressed, are not due merely to the smooth recitations of the cadets, or any of them, who were examined before them. On the contrary, it more frequently happened that the most satisfactory examination was one where the individual hesitated at first, and perhaps throughout, but who finally and slowly came to the correct conclusion, as he stood before the board, by the strong and concentrated mental effort which he

was most evidently making, not to remember words, but to collate ideas whose comparison and adjustment would bring him to the right results.

The board are quite aware that a single examination can afford but imperfect means for ascertaining the proficiency of any one individual examined, and that the determination of this must necessarily be left to the judgment of the academic board. But no such difficulty exists in forming a judgment of the merit of the professor, whose examination of his pupils continues from day to day in the presence of the board, who are thus enabled to see the extent of his knowledge, his facility in imparting it, and his manner and his temper in performing the duties of an instructor; and when the board have observed that the dull have caused no impatience, that the inaccurate have not been permitted to slur their ignorance, and that the intelligent and quick, while they have been tested by varying questionings, have been treated with no more consideration than the heaviest scholars in the class, they would be withholding the meed of a just praise if they did not, on this occasion, commend in the highest terms the professors whose classes have been examined before the board.

There is one matter, however, which, in the opinion of the board, is not as it should be, and which might be considered as almost a characteristic of the examination. They refer to the indistinct utterance of the cadets. They stood with the erectness, firmness, and respect of soldiers; with what, indeed, might generally be called a gallant bearing; while in too many instances they spoke, even when they were most familiar with the subject, in a manner almost inarticulate; so that it was necessary for their instructor to tell those to "speak out" who were shortly to be called to command men in situations where the tone of the voice would be one of the most potent means of inspiring confidence. To these remarks the board are glad to say there were many exceptions, which of itself induces the board to believe that, if a clear and distinct utterance is made a part of the instruction which a cadet receives, along with his mathematics or philosophy, these exceptions will become in a little while the general rule of the institution.

The board see no reason to recommend any other change in the course of study than that of substituting physiology for logic, as recommended in the report of the committee on instruction, and for the reasons there given at length. That the cadets should have been able to pass the examination which they did in pure logic, was most creditable to them and their instructors. But useless, or comparatively useless knowledge, may be ably taught and thoroughly acquired; and the board cannot help thinking that logic falls into this category, as regards young men whose powers of close reasoning would seem to have been improved to their utmost by other studies, taught as mathematics and natural philosophy are taught at the Military Academy.

Among other matters which have been suggested to the board for consideration has been the expediency of increasing the length of the term of instruction at West Point to five years, which would be adding a year to the time which is now required to complete the course. The great argument in favor of such an addition, should exist in the fact that so many of the cadets come to the academy wholly unprepared to commence the present course of studies. To such, the additional year would afford an opportunity of properly qualifying themselves for admission into the present fourth class. But then, to those who are qualified before their ap-

pointment, this year would be a total loss, perhaps worse than a mere loss of time in the idle habits which it might establish. If it were attempted to obviate this difficulty, by leaving it to the academic board, upon an examination of the new cadet, to determine whether he should enter the fourth or the fifth class, then the number of the fifth class, the extent of accommodations required for them, the teachers necessary to instruct them, would be so uncertain as to make provision for the class, in these particulars, a matter of difficulty, involving an expense greater perhaps than the object in view might justify. The board are also aware that the additional year has been looked upon as permitting additions to the present course rather than as facilitating the preparation of cadets to commence it. Still, in neither view of the case do the board feel quite prepared to recommend it; and while they are ready to admit that much may be said in its favor, and while they express their views on the subject with diffidence, they nevertheless would prefer that, for the present at least, there should be no change in this respect. They would rather rely upon the strictness of the examinations, and especially the January one of the first year, as recommended by the committee on administration, to obviate, both as regards the individual and the country, the difficulty growing out of an imperfect preparation for the course pursued here. The recommendation of the committee on administration, that the academic board should dismiss, whenever in their judgment it might be necessary, as well at the January as the June examination of all the classes, is fully approved by the undersigned. The practice now, except in the case of the fourth class, is to dismiss at the June examination only, which leads too often, as explained by the committee, to carelessness on the part of the cadet for the first six months of his second, third, and fourth year's courses, in the expectation that, by dint of extra exertion, he will be able to retrieve himself in the second six months. In other words, the preparations, in the opinion of the board, for the January as well as for the June examinations, should be made under the salutary appprehension of dismissal in the event of failure.

Again, and in conclusion of this part of their report, the board cordially adopt the recommendation of the committee on instruction, that the duties at present performed by the chaplain, and which include not only ethics, which are peculiarly appropriate to his sphere and calling, but also constitutional and international law, should be divided, and the two latter given to a separate professor, whose previous studies and other qualifications might fit him for the place. Under such a person the course of law might be extended, so as to embrace the rules of evidence and matters relating to courts martial, without materially trenching upon the time now given to other studies.

The military education of the cadets appeared to the board to have been well attended to; and they derived great gratification from their drill as infantry, cavalry, light artillery, and heavy artillery. Their instruction in all matters peculiarly connected with their future calling seemed in every respect satisfactory; and it gave the board great pleasure to observe that all this proficiency had been obtained while the cadets were at the same time acquiring, in an admirable manner, the best scientific education that our country can afford. Indeed, the bodily exercise of the one seemed to accord well with the mental labors of the other, counteracting the evil consequences to health which the sedentary life of a mere student

generally gives rise to—the result being an appearance of strength and activity surpassing, or at least equalling, the most favorable anticipations of the board.

It has been suggested to the board that more attention should be paid to particular arms of the service in the military education of the cadets; but the board see difficulties in the way of recommending any change in the existing state of things in this respect. They would recommend, however, that all the *materiel* required for their instruction as they are now taught should be put upon the best footing, so that every weapon and muniment of war should be of the best kind and kept up with the very latest improvements. The combination of scientific with military studies and exercises in such just proportions that neither would interfere with the other, and that the result should be the well-educated soldier which West Point now produces, has doubtless been a matter of difficult adjustment, and the board would be unwilling to recommend, even by way of experiment, anything that might, by possibility, interfere with what seems already so well ordered.

There is, nevertheless, a deficiency in the means of military instruction which was most apparent to the board. The number of horses is quite insufficient, and their character is far from what it should be. Of the forty horses with which the cavalry and light artillery exercises were performed, thirty had at the time been condemned; and although their places were to be supplied by others, as the board understood, yet it was evident that the more judicious course would have been to supply the place of a defective horse by a good one whenever it was necessary, instead of waiting until such numbers of them became disabled. Involving, as this matter does, and as the board themselves saw that it did, the lives of the cadets, they would be remiss in their duty if they did not press it upon your consideration. The number of horses should be so increased that it should be unnecessary to use at any time a weak or inefficient animal in the cavalry or artillery exercise of the cadets. For this purpose it has been suggested that eighty or one hundred horses would be necessary.

In connexion with the scientific and military education of the cadets, the board have considered their discipline.

The report of the committee on discipline is so full that it is unnecessary to do more in this place than to refer to it for all the details connected with the subject. As there stated, the cadets are divided into four companies of infantry, forming a battalion, with the proper officers—each company having its captain, subalterns, and non-commissioned officers, and the whole being under the charge of an officer of the army, whose title is the commandant of cadets, with four assistants taken from the line. The government is of course a military one. Minor offences are punished by the superintendent by confinement to quarters, extra guard duty, reprimand, &c.; graver ones are tried by courts martial—the highest punishment being that of dismissal from the academy. There is also a system of punishment which consists in what are termed demerit marks, varying in number according to the nature of the offence; the sum of which is taken into consideration on determining the situation, at the annual examination, which a cadet shall occupy in his class; so that, to hold the highest place, the individual must combine subordination and good conduct with talent and industry. The board have every reason to believe

that the government of the cadets, so far as it depends upon the officers of the institution, is kind and just; and that the necessary severity of military discipline is properly tempered in the hands which are here intrusted with its administration. The system in this respect presents nothing which the board would desire to see changed. On the contrary, they would take this occasion to reiterate what they have already said in regard to the necessity of maintaining the authority of the academic board at West Point, by respecting, except for very weighty considerations, the sentences of dismissal which are pronounced here.

The general administration of affairs at West Point has been examined by the board with particular attention; and for all matters of detail connected with it, such as the organization of the academic board, the number of professors and assistants, as well as for suggestions in regard to certain alterations, the board refer to the report of the committee on administration, which will be found in the appendix. In what they have already said, the board have testified their sense of the kindness, justice, and ability with which the affairs of the Military Academy are administered; and it is only necessary to add, on this point, that they fully accord with what the committee has said upon the subject.

There are, however, some matters to which the board have thought it proper to call your particular attention. These relate to the manner in which the cadets are supplied with board and necessaries. Under the present system, there is a purveyor who receives a regular salary, and whose business it is to buy whatever may be required for the mess-house, see to its proper preparation, control the waiters, laundresses, &c.; and, in fact, attend to all matters connected with this part of the establishment. The amount expended by him is ascertained every two months, credit is given for whatever may have been sold, such as offal, &c., and the balance is charged to the cadets, whose board accordingly varies with the markets from time to time; the average being about nine dollars per month. From the very minute investigations that have been made into this subject by a committee of the board, there is some reason to believe that this average may be sufficiently reduced to justify the experiment of a change in the present system—not that the board would be understood to doubt the propriety of the purveyor's conduct in the responsible position which he holds; but the present system is itself an improvement, and a very great one too, on that which preceded it, and the board see no reason to think that the minimum cost of supplying the cadets, with a fare equal in all respects to that which they now have, has been attained. The change which they would recommend would be the employment here of a commissary, an officer of the army, who should have the whole matter in charge, with such assistance as might be necessary for the proper management of the mess-house. The board believe that, in this way, the expenses of the mess-house may be brought more nearly on a par with similar expenses in many of our colleges. The board are aware that there is a difference of opinion on this subject. They hold, however, that the experiment which they now recommend is worth the making.

In like manner, the board would recommend a change in the mode adopted for supplying the cadets with such necessaries as they from time to time require. At present there is a single store on the Point, the prices of which are regulated by the council of administration, who, upon the

production of the storekeeper's invoices, add to them such profit as they deem reasonable, and he makes his charges accordingly. This seems perfectly fair, and in accordance with the general army regulations on the subject. But there is no reason why the cadets should pay this profit. They now obtain their clothing at the cost of making it. The materials are purchased by the quantity, of the best sort; the expense of the manufacture is added; and the cadet is clothed, as he should be, at prime cost of the article. There is no reason why the same system should not be pursued in regard to the few articles (comparatively speaking) other than clothing, which the cadet now purchases from the store, and for which he must have the previous order of the superintendent. The present storekeeper has been here many years, and, from all the board can learn, is a worthy and estimable man, in whom all reliance can be placed. But the reasons for the present recommendation are independent wholly of the individual.

In connexion somewhat with this part of the subject, and as materially affected by what has just been spoken of, the board, with a single exception, would recommend an increase of the pay of the cadets. They believe that, with the strictest economy, the present pay is not sufficient for their support. Those who have friends at home who can assist them do not feel this as those do who have nothing but their pay to feed and clothe them. That all may be on an equality, the pay should be increased. If it is not, West Point will remain an institution of a republican government, maintained at the public expense for the public good, where the boundaries of wealth are clearly and painfully drawn, and where the poor man's son, whatever may be his talent, whatever may be his future usefulness to his country, is subjected to constant mortification, and is daily made to feel that, in contradiction of the theory of his government, its practice is to permit distinctions, for the sake of an unwise parsimony, between the different classes of its citizens and their children.

The pay of the cadets amounted formerly to $28 20 per month. A few years since it was reduced to $24. The board recommend that it be raised to what it was formerly. They have examined the expenditures of the cadets, (it being easy to do so under the admirable system which exists in regard to them,) and they find that, after they have paid the two dollars per month which is required as a contribution to a fund for their equipment after graduation—a sound and wise provision—there does not remain sufficient for their decent support. True, matters would be better with them if the boarding were reduced and their purchases at the store cost less; but no probable reduction would suffice to make their present pay equal to their necessary wants.

In connexion with this part of their report, the board of visiters would reiterate the recommendation made by their predecessors in their report of June, 1848, that the pay of the superintendent be made that of a colonel of engineers. At this time it is the pay due to the rank of the officer in command. The present incumbent being a captain only, his pay is less than that of his subordinates—the professors and the commandant of cadets. His position as the head of the institution subjects him to charges from which, upon other duty, he would be exempt, and which, in the opinion of the board, the pay of a captain is inadequate to meet.

The board have carefully examined the old and the new barracks for

the cadets. The first are utterly unfit for occupation, and but one-half of the new barracks has been completed. It is unnecessary for the board to dwell upon the necessity of finishing the latter at the earliest day, for everything is being done, and well done, to this end; but they cannot refrain from expressing their satisfaction at the present escape of a part and the prospective escape of the entire corps from quarters which have for years been evidently in no condition for use.

The new barracks, the board are glad to say, are everything that could be desired, the arrangement being in all respects perfect, and the execution of the work itself being such as was to have been expected from the intelligence that has directed and superintended it.

Immediately in front of the new barracks stands the old mess-house, an unsightly edifice, very ill adapted to the purposes to which it is applied. This, however, is to be removed, and a new mess-house, in a more eligible situation, erected in its stead. When this shall be done, and the present building torn down, along with the old north and south barracks, and a new riding and drill house erected, for all which appropriations have been made in whole or in part, the accommodations of the academy may be considered as completed, for the first time, in a proper manner. For a more detailed account of the new barracks and the objections to the old ones, the board refer to the report of the committee on police, which will be found in the appendix.

As already mentioned in a previous part of this report, the board have been struck with the healthy appearance generally of the cadets. In connexion with this, they have carefully examined into the hospital department of the institution. They found everything here in excellent order, and apparently in very efficient hands. The change of the road in front of the hospital building, suggested in the report of the committee on police, will, when made, give a privacy to the hospital which it at present wants. There should also be a better supply of water, and hot and cold and shower-baths should be added to the establishment, if for no other reason than in reference to their character as curative agents. In the opinion of the board, a change in the mode of ventilating the building might also be made with advantage.

The alterations and additions here suggested have reference to the improvement of the present hospital; but the board are of opinion that a new building, on a better general plan, with better ventilation, in a more quiet place, and with all proper conveniences connected with it, should be erected; and they recommend the expediency of doing this to your consideration.

In what the board have said of the health of the cadets, they have spoken from their personal intercourse with them, and from their appearance during the examinations before them. The subject of health was one of such importance, however, that the board deemed it proper to make special inquiries of the surgeon in regard thereto; and they annex to their report the letter addressed by him to the chairman of the committee on police, to which they particularly invite your attention, and the suggestions of which have the full concurrence of the board.

They confide in the medical suggestions which are made by the surgeon, not only because they proceed from high medical authority, but because they have on their face the evidence of their correctness. A suggestion, however, which the surgeon makes, and which is uncon-

nected with mere medical experience, has struck the board as well deserving of notice. It is, that the causes of the complaints of the cadets should not be considered as communications protected as professional confidences, in those cases which show them to have been violations of the *express regulations* of the academy. The board refer particularly to the use of ardent spirits and tobacco. If it is the duty of an officer other than the surgeon to report the cadet whom he finds drinking or smoking, there is no reason why the surgeon's duty should not be the same. They can appreciate the high and honorable feeling which controls the surgeon; but there are cases where it may work great evil, and this is one of them.

The board could say much more on this subject, but they content themselves with again commending the communication of the surgeon to your most favorable consideration. It strikes the board as being replete with valuable suggestions.

It only remains for the board to call your attention to the fiscal affairs of the institution. These are included under the heads of, first, the Engineer department; second, the Quartermaster's; and third, the Treasurer's.

1. The Engineer department has charge of the erection of the new barracks, for which the appropriations by Congress, up to the 1st July, 1850, amounted to \$147,500; and the expenditures, up to June 1, 1849, to \$102,380 28; leaving an unexpended balance at the last date of \$45,119 72. There is yet required for the completion of these barracks, together with the necessary out-buildings, according to the estimate of the engineer, the further sum of \$48,500, to be supplied by an appropriation by Congress. Partial appropriations have, in like manner, been made for the commencement of the riding-house, the mess-hall, the barracks for the sappers and miners, and an hospital for the soldiers stationed at the post—all of them buildings which should be commenced and completed at the earliest day.

2. The accounts of the Quartermaster's department exhibit the appropriations for the academy, other than the pay of the cadets, and the disbursements therefrom. These appropriations, with an unexpended balance in hand, amounted, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849, to \$34,029 62; of which there remains on hand at this time the sum of \$9,132 78. The board have examined the expenditures under this head, and believe them to have been wisely and prudently made, and essential to the interests and prosperity of the academy.

3. The accounts of the Treasurer exhibit the disbursement of pay to the cadets; and here the system seems to have been made eminently simple and efficient. The book of a cadet shows, at a glance, the condition of his account and the objects of his expenditure during his entire term; and the examination of a number of these books, taken at random, satisfied the board that the money of the cadet was most carefully husbanded, and none of it allowed to be spent in idle extravagance, or indeed for anything not absolutely necessary. The board make particular reference to the report of the committee on fiscal affairs, and the documents accompanying it, which will be found in the appendix.

In concluding this report, the board of visiters would reiterate the expression of their satisfaction with the condition of the institution. It has so happened that five of the attending members of the board, now and for many years engaged in the business of civil life, have at different times been pupils of the Military Academy; so that the board has had within itself an experience of affairs here, commencing upwards of thirty years

since, and continuing, at different periods in the interval, down to the present time. This has not been without its value in the investigations in which the board have been engaged. Means of instituting a careful comparison were always at hand; and with this, and a thorough examination of affairs, facilitated, in every particular, by the officers having charge of them, the board are able to bear testimony to the fact that the progress of the institution, through successive years, has been one of constant improvement, keeping pace with the times, often ahead of them, taking the lead in whatever was liberal and enlightened, and fulfilling, in all particulars, the great and important national purposes for which the Military Academy was originally founded. It has, in its practical operation, sown broadcast over the land an amount of knowledge of military affairs which has stood in the place of a standing army, when the exigencies of the republic required more men than the regular garrisons of its posts could furnish. It has established relations among its pupils from the remotest districts which may be ranked among the conservative influences affecting our union as one people; and, situated as it is among scenes consecrated by the cherished memories of our revolutionary day, and on the spot hallowed by the presence of Washington, it has, it is believed, created and maintained, in the bosoms of all who have been educated within its walls, a sacred love of country; and the great proportion of its pupils feel that it has also created a love of all that is truly good and great, and an abhorrence of all that is mean and vile.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, *of Maryland,*
President of the Board.
JOHN S. ABBOTT, *of Maine.*
HORACE MANN, *of Massachusetts.*
DANIEL TYLER, *of Connecticut.*
JEROME FULLER, *of New York.*
JOHN L. GOW, *of Pennsylvania.*
PATRICK M. HENRY, *of North Carolina.*
J. McCALEB WILEY, *of Alabama.*
R. W. BURNET, *of Ohio.*
H. A. BULLARD, *of Louisiana.*
W. T. STOCKTON, *of Florida.*
H. HOUGHTON, *of Iowa.*
A. H. KENAN, *of Georgia.*
RUFUS KING, *of Wisconsin, Secretary.*

Hon. Geo. W. Crawford,
Secretary of War.

Memorandum of matters specially suggested in the report.

Care in the selection of cadets, in reference to the capacity and previous acquirements.

Maintaining the authority of the academic staff and the discipline of the institution, by respecting, except in cases of clear wrong, sentences of dismissal.

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The committee to whom was referred the subject of the instruction and education of the cadets at West Point, so far as their course of study coincides with that pursued at common literary or scientific institutions, and is exclusive of what is peculiar to the academy as a military school, submit the following report:

This subject may be considered under two heads:

1st. With reference to the efficiency of the instruction given to the cadets; and,

2d. With reference to the extent or comprehensiveness of the course which is studied by them, and the relative eligibility of the studies which the course embraces.

Methods of instruction are as various as teachers are numerous. The pupil soon learns the method adopted by his teacher; and, having learnt it, he conforms his course of action to it. The teacher's habitual method of questioning, or examination, is as present with the pupil when studying his lesson, as it is when he witnesses that method in full operation in the recitation or class room. The pupil remembers the manner in which he has been examined, and so anticipates the manner in which he will be. If the instructor's questionings are expected to have reference only to the *words* of the lesson, as contradistinguished from its ideas, then the pupil will seek to remember only the words, and become heedless as to the ideas. If a *verbatim* recitation is demanded, the words and the order of the sentences will be committed to memory; and with these the effort and the ambition of the pupil will cease. If leading questions are put by the teacher, or if all his questions are cast in the same mould, and indicate what answer is expected, then the pupil will watch the manner of the teacher, and will divine or prognosticate the answer which is to be given, not from any knowledge he has of the subject, but from the man-

since, and continuing, at different esented. If indefinite and ambiguous present time. This has not beenner, then the pupil will strive to conceal in which the board have been ness and ambiguity, and will endeavor to comparison were always at hmanner that, when the truth is at last discovtion of affairs, facilitated, he oracle that had declared it. If the pupil is of them, the board are a'e the idea, but cannot express it," or, as the of the institution, thr I know when you don't ask me," then all manner provement, keeping invented, all subterfuges will be resorted to, to avoid lead in whatever tant, all-essential quality in study and recitation—exactly lars, the greatearly-expressed truth; in fine, that will be done by the stu-Academy wr the recitation room, which it is supposed will meet the de-broadcast the teacher in it. If the teacher is known to demand ideas, and has stoms of words; if he is known to be inexorable in this demand; if it repuknown that he will grant no dispensation beforehand, nor pardon afterfuards, then the whole efforts of the pupil's mind will be concentrated upon the subject-matter of his study; he will seek to understand it, not only in its direct and immediate, but in its collateral and remote relations; and the mere words of an author, excepting those technical terms or phrases which are necessary to precision, will cease to be material. The idea, the sentiment, the thing as it exists in nature, will be sought out with assiduity and with energy. A merchant will as soon carry base metal to an assayer, and expect it to be received as genuine, as a pupil will carry words and sounds to a teacher who demands ideas, or will expect to tickle his ear with atmospheric vibrations, when it is known that he will listen to nothing but the eternal verities of science.

The effect of these different courses is indescribable: the one leads outright to a knowledge of the history of men and the works of God; the other leads to the land of dreams and shadows, to nothingness, and to shams, which are worse than nothingness. If a teacher allows a pupil to recite superficially, he encourages and invites him to study superficially; and a superficial student becomes a superficial man. Thus the teacher is responsible for sending out into the world superficies of knowledge, instead of cubical or solid contents. On the other hand, the pupil, accustoming himself at first, perhaps from necessity, to master his studies, will soon find unwonted pleasure in the exercise; for the pleasures which nature affixes to any acquisition always bear a proportion to the dignity and elevation of the faculties employed in acquiring; and the faculty of knowing things is indefinitely higher than that of remembering words. At last, habit and enjoyment will bind him to that superior method which the necessity imposed upon him by a faithful teacher may have begun.

The committee have had no opportunity to witness recitation or class exercises; but they have attended the general examination from day to day, and can say, without hesitation, that the mode of questioning which is pursued, and of study which is indicated, seem to them to be of the highest order. Of course, as the committee hold that the style of answering will correspond, in a great degree, to the style of questioning, it follows that the appearance of the cadets has generally done them great credit. With very few exceptions, (from which no institution can be wholly exempt,) the committee have rarely, if ever, seen anything better; and very rarely, too, have they seen anything so good. The entire self-possession of the cadets; their command, not merely of their mind, but of their muscles; their firm, erect, and manly bearing; the entire absence of all fidget-

ing and restlessness, of shuffling and shrugging, of shifting their weight from foot to foot, and from point to point, as though the centre of gravity beneath them was changing its place, and they were striving to find it: these and similar characteristics of self-dependence and manliness have been, in the highest degree, remarkable and creditable; and it is earnestly to be wished that, whatever opinion the instructors in other institutions may have of the peculiar character and objects of this, they would, in this respect, find a model here, and reproduce it in their own seminaries. It is most agreeable to see a scholar who has the self-possession of a soldier; who can fix his body to one spot, as well as his mind to one subject, and who can pay attention so exclusive and devoted to the thing in hand as to have no surplus attention left for annoying others or discomposing himself. It is believed that such physical habits would greatly add to the student's power of mental concentration.

In regard to the extent of the course pursued by the cadets, it seems to be sufficiently full; and when their age and their limited attainments at the time of admission are considered, it seems to be sufficiently severe. The committee see no opening through which they can wedge in a new study. If new studies are introduced, the only alternative is to displace some of the old ones. Notwithstanding this, the committee are constrained to say that there are some points in which the culture of an officer and a gentleman should be more extended and more critical. In the first place, there seems to have been at this institution no systematic cultivation of the voice. Hence not only a loss of those agreeable tones and modulations of which the human voice is capable, but an articulation so indistinct as often to be unintelligible. Neither does any standard for pronouncing our language seem to be recognised. The cadets, coming from the thirty different States of the Union, bring with them the various pronunciations and the provincialisms of each; and if not corrected here, they will carry away as many as they bring, fastened upon them as habits for life. Among accomplished English scholars, whether found in either of the three kingdoms of Great Britain or its colonies, or in any part of the United States, there are comparatively but few points of difference in orthoepy, or in enunciation. In a national institution like this, therefore, great departures from the common usage of the best English and American scholars and speakers is not creditable; and it would be a subject for regret if young gentlemen, so highly accomplished in many respects as the cadets certainly are, should carry out into the world provincialisms or vulgarisms of speech or of pronunciation, to be worn, like some unsightly blotch or tumor upon the face, and to give offence in educated and cultivated circles, wherever they may go.

But there is one branch of study of which no trace seems now to be found in the course, but which the committee deem to be pre-eminently worthy the attention of those who have the direction of this subject: it is that of human physiology, or the laws of health and life. Modern observation and research have made it certain that good and ill health, that longevity and premature death, are the consequences of fixed laws. These laws are as immutable in their operation, and as infallible in their results, as those which determine the order of the seasons, or the occurrence of eclipses. If the antecedents vary, the consequents vary also. Most of these laws are now discovered; hence the means of securing health and of enjoying long life, in the great proportion of cases, are also

discovered. Hence, too, in an equal proportion of cases, mankind are responsible for the want of health and of fullness of days; and those who have the power of teaching these laws, but abstain from it, may be justly held accountable for the cost, the pain, the loss of utility and the loss of life, consequent upon their neglect. Many of the ablest physicians in this country have certified it to be their opinion that, even in the present state of physiological science, at least one-half of all sicknesses and diseases, and of all premature deaths, are the result, not of any necessity, not of any fatality, but of sheer ignorance; of such ignorance as belongs to brutes, operating in conjunction with passions that belong to men. Sickness and bereavement are supposed to be what eclipses and earthquakes were once supposed to be—the effect of some arbitrary interference by a superhuman power, for some special purpose, and not as the invariable results of unchanging laws. But modern science has rescued this whole subject of health and life alike from the domain of chance, and from the dominion of arbitrary will. In the majority of cases, it has shown us why we are sick and how we may be well; why so vast a proportion of the human race die at an untimely age, and how their lives might have been prolonged. If we would have it well with us morally, everybody understands that we must obey the moral law; so, if we would have it well with us physically, it is just as certain that we must obey the physical law. In both cases, knowledge is a preliminary to obedience. We have no right to charge upon the providence of God what comes from our own improvidence.

The soldier is exposed to peculiar hardships and privations. In this wide-extended country, he is liable to be transferred from the climate of his birth and residence almost to another of the zones. He may be carried from the cold and bracing winds of the north, to the sultry and enervating heats of the south; from the seaboard to the interior; or from open, cleared, and highly cultivated regions, to those where the atmosphere is heavy with the miasma of stagnant waters in unbroken solitudes. It often happens that the soldier cannot command the kind of provisions most conducive to health. Many diseases are best treated, not by medicine, but by regimen; and the administration of this remedy requires a constantly presiding intelligence. Often the shelter of the soldier fails to protect him from the inclemency of the weather, and almost always is he exposed to more or less of dampness by night, which is a prolific cause of chronic, and, eventually, fatal distempers. The soldier, therefore, above all other men in the community, ought to be supplied with the shield of knowledge to ward off the dangers of his vocation. The mortality of the camp is found to be greater than that of the battle-field. This needs not to be so; and, with intelligence on the part of the soldier, in regard to the laws of living, it would cease to be so.

If these views are applicable to soldiers, they apply with greatly increased force to officers, who are to command soldiers. In selecting salubrious or insalubrious spots for an encampment; in directions given to the purveyor of provisions; in the time allowed and occupied not less than in the time selected for taking meals; in causing all noxious and fermenting substances to be far removed from quarters; in securing the personal cleanliness of the men by frequent ablution; in alternating exercise with rest, and selecting the appropriate seasons for each;—in these, and in kindred respects, the officer has as much power over the lives of

his men when pursuing a march, or reposing in a camp, as on the day of battle; and it seems hardly more preposterous to send a commander into the service who knows nothing of the profession of arms, than to intrust the lives and health of men to one who is ignorant of hygiene. The committee, therefore, would earnestly recommend the incorporation of human physiology into the course of studies pursued at the academy; and, as some existing study must give way for its admission, they would propose the discontinuance of what is now taught at the academy under the name of logic.

The committee have listened attentively to the examination of the cadets on the subjects of constitutional law, on the law of nature and nations, and on ethics. These branches are all taught by the chaplain of the academy, or under his supervision. The last, that of ethics, falls most appropriately within his sphere of duties; but if there is any reason for having the military art taught by a military man, there seems to be a reason at least of equal cogency for having constitutional law, and the law of nations, taught by a jurist. The committee intend not the slightest disparagement of the reverend chaplain by these remarks: he seems to have done even better than could have been reasonably anticipated. But this admission, which the committee most cheerfully and conscientiously make, takes but little from the weight of their suggestion. The duties of the chaplain, as a minister of the Gospel and as a teacher of morals, are abundantly sufficient to occupy the whole time, and to exhaust the whole energies of any one man; and the committee are of opinion that studies widely diverging from his profession, and requiring such a broad basis of legal knowledge, should not be imposed upon him. In ethics, the text-book of Dr. Weyland is used; but, in compliance with an order issued by some former department of the Executive, the chapter on war is omitted. If any difficulties are presented by considering the profession of arms, in its relation to the moral law, it seems not *soldierly* to avoid them, or go round them. From an enemy it may be lawful to escape; but not from obligations that are interwoven with the heart of man, and bind him, in indissoluble and eternal connexion, with the throne of God. If anything pertaining to war deserves to be studied and pondered long and deeply, those considerations which show its relations to morality, and to the Gospel, deserve attention first and last, and most.

On the subject of our duties to our fellow-men, the committee would have been highly gratified could the examination have been more full. On the second of those great commandments, without which neither the law nor the prophets have any support—the commandment that we shall love our neighbor as ourselves—and upon the point, also, that within the true scope and meaning of this command, the border Samaritan, however despised or however despicable he may be, is our neighbor—upon these points nothing was said. This may have been accidental, but we deem it an omission; for it is incompatible with the highest obligations of a Christian people to support any institution which cannot bear exposure to the clearest and directest light of Christian ethics. If what Lord Wellington is reported to have said in the British House of Lords be true, namely, that a man of refined, religious sensibilities has no right to be a soldier, then ought the business of the soldier to be forever struck from the catalogue of human vocations.

In conclusion, the committee would express the opinion that when they consider the length of the course and the severity of the studies pursued at the academy, they have rarely, if ever, seen anything which equalled either the excellence of the teaching or the proficiency of the taught.

HORACE MANN.
RUFUS KING.
H. A. BULLARD.

Report of the Committee on Administration.

The administration of the United States Military Academy is conducted by a military and academic staff, composed as follows, viz:

1 captain of engineers, superintendent.
1 professor of engineering, and two assistants.
1 professor of natural and experimental philosophy, and three assistants.
1 professor of mathematics, and six assistants.
1 professor of chemistry, &c., and two assistants.
1 professor of ethics, and three assistants.
1 professor of drawing, and two assistants.
1 instructor of practical engineering, and four assistants.
1 instructor of infantry tactics, and four assistants.
1 instructor of artillery and cavalry, and two assistants.
1 professor of French, and two assistants.
1 surgeon, and one assistant.
1 adjutant.
1 instructor of the sword exercise.
1 treasurer.

Of these forty-six persons forming the staff, thirty-eight are officers of the army, and are employed in discharging various duties connected with the institution.

The organization of the academic and military staff seems well adapted to the wants of the institution, and the system of calling to the aid of permanent professors officers of the army as assistants, commends itself to your committee as one of great wisdom, and as conferring great benefit not only to the officer, who returns to the institution to revise and extend his course of studies, but to the cadet, who receives instruction from officers who combine both the theory and practice of the profession.

The administration of the academy is closely connected with the discipline, and it seems difficult to draw a dividing line between the different committees without possibly omitting matters of great importance to the institution. Your committee would refer to punishment awarded by courts martial, (which may be treated by the committee on discipline,) and on mature consideration they are obliged to come to the conclusion that in every case where dismissal is awarded, the sentence should be carried into full execution. It is no great hardship for a young man from 16 to 20 years of age to change his occupation and settle himself in private life; while it is believed that every *suspended* or *dismissed* cadet who returns to the academy, inflicts an injury which is *felt* by the institution. As the expense of the education is borne by the country, and as the applicants pressing into the institution exceed by far the wants of the army,

it is right and best that every young man unwilling to submit himself unreservedly to the regulations of the academy, and to exert himself to acquire a full knowledge of the course, should return to private life, where the injury which results from insubordination and indolence will be less felt than at the Military Academy.

Your committee, in connexion with the administration of the institution, has been led to examine into the expense that would attend increasing the number of cadets so as to add two for each State. As the law now stands, each Congressional district is entitled to send one cadet, and the good effect of this provision is very manifest. Not only every State is represented, but the sections of each State; and your committee would suggest that an additional expenditure of $20,000 annually would give to each State a number of cadets equal to its senators and representatives in Congress. It remains with the Executive to determine whether the increase will be called for by any prospective increase of the army which the extended territories of the Union may demand; but your committee beg leave to express to the board the opinion that every dollar expended in sustaining and extending the institution to the full extent of the wants of the army, and, to a partial extent, to the wants of the militia, will form part of a judicious investment made for posterity.

In looking into the administration of the academy, the attention of your committee has been called to the expenses incident both to the government and the cadet, and the conclusion is forced on it that, if the government intend to place an education here within the reach of every young man joining the institution, and to put the cadets, rich and poor, on a perfect equality, that object is not *now* accomplished. Means beyond the pay allowed by the government are absolutely necessary to support a young man at the institution for *four* years, even *provided* he denies himself the high privilege of *visiting his friends once* during that time. One hundred dollars appears the least possible amount, over and above the pay allowed, (viz: $24 per month,) to carry a young man respectably through; and small as the sum is, instances are within the knowledge of your committee where it could not be had. While it is hard for the young man who has rich parents to curtail his expenditures, as he is obliged to do, to articles strictly necessary for his support, it is harder still for the high-spirited young man, whose friends may be poor and unable to assist him, to lack those things absolutely necessary to feed and clothe him.

The subject of compensation does not seem to come naturally in charge of the committee on administration; but from the system of supply which is thought necessary to carry out "the administration, &c., of the academy," this subject presents itself to your committee as one for its consideration. So long as but one storekeeper, one tailor, one baker, and one butcher, is allowed, each monopolizing in his own business all the transactions of the place, take such measures as you will, there will be a monopoly, which will affect the pockets of the population.

The effect here *now* is to make New York a standard for prices; and the butcher, storekeeper, tailor, and shoemaker here, *where he pays no rent*, demands the prices, and more, that he would in New York. This system operates severely on all connected with the Military Academy—commandant, professors, officers, and cadets—each paying in proportion to his necessary expenditure. This works injuriously, as well as unjustly; and it

does appear to your committee that the system of furnishing should be changed, to meet the case. It has suggested itself to your committee that the commencement should be made by bringing to the academy an additional commissary of subsistence, to be put on the academic staff, and to have charge of providing the cadets with provisions and such things as are now furnished from the store; and, as the system shall be perfected, to extend all the privileges to the professors and officers at the institution. There may be difficulties in working out the system, but your committee believe it to be practicable; and if it is put into the hands of a competent commissary, who would feel that it was practicable, it is believed it would eventually be perfected. At all events, the effect of bringing the entire responsibility on one man, and he a commissioned officer, would prepare the way for a successful change in these matters, which interest not only the government, but every person at West Point.

Whether this system is carried out or not, it does appear to your committee that the pay of a captain is in no way adequate to the support of the superintendent, and that, if more rank is not to be accorded to the meritorious officer now in command, and the pay *consequent to that rank*, additional pay in some way or other should be accorded, to enable him to meet the expense necessary to sustain him respectably in the position in which the government has placed him.

The pay of regimental adjutant should be allowed, *as a matter of justice*, to the post adjutant, whose duties are by far more onerous and responsible than that of any regimental adjutant in service.

One of the most important subjects in the administration, as it strikes your committee, is connected with the examination, which takes place every six months, of all the classes at the Military Academy. At these examinations, not only the relative positions of the cadets are fixed with great justice by the academic board, but the cadets found deficient, who are either turned back or discharged, are designated. On a careful review of the examination just passed, the opinion has fixed itself on your committee that cadets found deficient in January, *on their first examination*, should be discharged, and that the examination should be close and rigid. In very few instances do those cadets approaching deficiency in January pass the June examination; and your committee would recommend, as an *act of kindness to the young man*, that where the prospects of passing are decidedly against him, he should be returned as early as possible to his home. Six months' absence will hardly have changed his home relations, and he returns to them as from a visit, benefited, no doubt, by the instruction he has received, and immediately resumes his previous avocations. Keep him a year or eighteen months, and the case is changed, and it is with difficulty he resumes his previous position and pursuits. It is believed by your committee that the best interests of the government and the cadet demand that the connexion which is not to be *to a degree permanent* should be severed at as early a day as practicable.

While on this subject, your committee would recommend that dismission in the different classes for *deficiency* should be made by the academic board in January, as well as in June. Under the impression that the January examination is of little account, many young men of fine talents neglect their studies during the first six months, with the intention of making it up on the last. Sometimes they are successful; but example has a bad effect on their fellow-students of less capacity, and is injurious

to their own character. The habit of unequal exertion in every profession is a bad habit; and the young men who in early life may be successful in the practice of it seldom arrive at any subsequent distinction. In every view of the case, your committee would recommend that the January as well as the June examination should decide whether a young man is to remain at the academy.

The laws, and their resulting regulations, which govern the administration of the Military Academy, seem to your committee admirably adapted to the nature and purpose of the institution; and everything at the present moment seems to have assumed a permanent shape, and only awaits that development which time and progress will give to make the institution all that the government or the country can wish.

Your committee cannot see at this time that any further legislation is required. The firm, steady, and uncompromising support of the academic authority, with judicious and liberal appropriations, seems all that is required to work out the progress and perfection of the institution. Should any change be made, by adding another year to the course of studies or otherwise, no additional legislation will be required, as this is entirely within the control of the Executive; and no additional professorships will be required, as the additional studies can be conveniently divided among the present professors.

In closing this report, your committee would remark that the main object of the *administration, as a whole,* is to conduct and complete the moral, military, and scientific education of the cadets, so as to fit them to conduct the military affairs of the republic. Your committee, on full examination, believe that it effects this important purpose, and that at no previous time has this great object of the academy been better cared for and secured than at the present. The zeal and talents of the superintendent and of the academic board, the great interest expressed and shown by all concerned in the administration, show that the trust is reposed in safe and able hands; and the events of the late conquest of Mexico have demonstrated that heretofore the practical results of the institution have conferred honor and glory on the country; and we believe that the future is full of hope and confidence.

All which is respectfully submitted.

DANIEL TYLER,
JEROME FULLER,
JOHN S. ABBOTT.

Report of the Committee on Discipline to the Board of Visiters, West Point, June, 1849.

The committee appointed to inquire into the discipline of the United States Military Academy respectfully submit the following report:

No department of the academy is more important, or demands higher requisites in its administration, than that which is charged with the military instruction and discipline of the cadets. Their first and strongest impressions of military life are received from the deportment of the officers placed over them. To this source they look for those examples of morali-

ty and gentlemanly bearing so becoming the profession of arms; while their efficiency and standing in the public service must depend, in no small degree, upon the fidelity and capacity of those at whose hands they receive their earliest instructions. Impressed with this belief, your committee have deemed it their duty to inquire minutely into all matters pertaining to this department; and they take pleasure in saying that they have been greatly aided in their researches by the members of the academic staff, who solicited, and seemed anxious for, the most thorough and comprehensive investigation. The deliberate judgment at which your committee have arrived is, that no system of discipline could be established on sounder principles, or administered with greater kindness, discrimination, and decision, than that now in force at the Military Academy. The rules for conferring rewards, or inflicting punishment, are clear, explicit, well settled, and well understood by the cadets, and none can incur censure without previous and ample warning. While power is exercised in the most paternal manner, and with the strictest justice, it is gratifying to know that the professors and officers are very generally respected and esteemed by the cadets. The strict and uniform observance of the articles of war, the regulations of the army, so far as applicable to this institution, and the regulations for the government of the academy itself, as adopted by the academic board and approved by the President of the United States, has contributed most efficiently to the high discipline of the corps. Some indeed have questioned the policy of throwing so many restrictions around the cadets; but, after a careful examination of the rules referred to, your committee feel it their duty to testify to their general excellence, and their peculiar adaptation to the wants and purposes of the institution. Without the restraints thus imposed, there could be no discipline; and without discipline, the academy would be well nigh, if not altogether, useless to the country.

The military instruction of the cadets, more especially in the light artillery, cavalry, and infantry branches of the service, was the subject of minute inquiries on the part of your committee. As it is the design of the academy to provide the country with officers competent to the duties of the different arms of the service, your committee are of opinion that more extended facilities should be given for instruction in light artillery and cavalry. There should be at the academy a full set of equipments, horses, &c., for a company of light artillery. There are, at this time, some forty-five horses and thirty dragoons at present at the Point employed in the practical instruction of the cadets. But these horses are also used in the cavalry drill of the corps; and, being overworked and employed in both branches of instruction, cannot be properly trained or efficiently used in either. Nevertheless, under all these disadvantages, the proficiency of the cadets in the light artillery drill is quite remarkable; and their instruction in the management of the field-piece and the movement of the battery is thorough and practical.

Your committee attended a platoon drill of cavalry in the field, as well as the riding exercises of the first class in their hall. The same disadvantage exists as to the instruction in cavalry drill, that has already been adverted to in relation to the light artillery. There are too few horses to serve the wants of the class; and those now here, being used both for cavalry and artillery drill, are unfitted for either. It would re-

quire one hundred horses to supply the wants of the corps in this respect, and to extend the riding exercise occasionally to all the cadets. Your committee would, therefore, suggest to the board that they recommend the purchase of an additional number of horses—say sixty—for the use of the cadets. It affords us pleasure to say that, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the cadets display great proficiency in the cavalry drill, ride with ease and confidence, sit well and firmly in their saddles, and manage their horses and weapons with creditable skill. All this has been accomplished with insufficient means and in limited time, and in a riding hall wholly unsuited to the purpose for which it was designed. It is to be hoped that an addition to the number of horses and the erection of a new riding hall will enable the academic board to place this necessary branch of military education on a proper footing.

For the purpose of instruction in infantry tactics and the discipline of the cadets generally, the corps is organized into a battalion of four companies—each having a captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, and four corporals. There is, besides, a battalion staff, consisting of an adjutant, a quartermaster, a sergeant major, and a quartermaster's sergeant. These commissioned and non-commissioned officers are all appointed by the superintendent upon the recommendation of the commandant of cadets; and those are selected to fill these honorable stations who have been most active and soldier-like in the performance of their duties, and most exemplary in their general deportment. The captains and lieutenants are taken from the first class, the sergeants from the second class, and the corporals from the third class. The instruction of the cadets in the school of the soldier, of the company, and of the battalion, is careful and thorough. Your committee had the pleasure of attending a battalion drill, and frequent parades and reviews of the corps, during the past fortnight; and they cannot refrain from expressing their high admiration of the proficiency and skill evinced by the corps generally, and of the military bearing, the easy and graceful movements of the cadets individually. Thus carefully instructed themselves, the cadets in turn are prepared to teach others, when occasion serves or duty requires, and to set, in their own persons, examples of gentlemanly conduct and soldier-like qualifications to all with whom they may be associated in the service of the republic.

As coming properly under their notice, your committtee made various inquiries into the modes and degrees of punishment inflicted upon the cadets for disobedience of orders, disrespect to superior officers, or any other violations of the regulations of the academy, as military law and usage. The cadets are subject to the rules and articles of war, and may be tried by regimental or garrison courts martial. The punishments to which they are liable are thus classified:

1st. Privation of recreation, extra guard duty, reprimand, arrest, and confinement in room or tent.

2d. Confinement in light or dark prison.

3d. Dismission, with privilege of resigning; public dismission.

The punishment of the first class may be inflicted by the superintendent, or with his approbation; but those of the other classes only in virtue of a sentence of a general court martial, except in cases of breach of arrest or mutinous conduct. As to rewards for good soldiership, the only system practised is that of bestowing appointments, as commissioned or non-

commissioned officers, upon the most soldier-like and most exemplary in their general deportment—a system which creates a very commendable spirit of emulation among the cadets. Personal difficulties among the cadets are of rare occurrence, and in several instances have been adjusted by the kind interposition of the commandant of cadets. No cadet is permitted to send, accept or carry a challenge, written or verbal, nor in any way be a party to, or promote, a duel, on pain of dismissal from the service of the United States; and any cadet using provoking or reproachful gestures to another, or who shall strike, or traduce, or defame another, is liable to be dismissed, or otherwise less severely punished, according to the nature of the offence. All combinations are strictly forbidden—an excellent feature in the code of regulations prescribed for the government of the corps. Your committee are satisfied, from their investigation, that the present high discipline and general good conduct of the cadets results not only from a rigid enforcement of these various rules, but also from the kindly intercourse between the academic staff and the corps, and the excellent relations existing among the cadets themselves. Occasionally, the necessity arises of inflicting the punishment of dismissal upon the delinquent. This, though always to be regretted on account of the friends of the delinquent, and sometimes of the delinquent himself, involves a duty to the country which ought not to be neglected. It cannot be supposed that officers who feel so deep an anxiety in the success of this institution would thoughtlessly or wrongfully send home a young man in disgrace to his parents or guardians, to poison their minds against the academy. Your committee cannot, therefore, doubt that the academic staff are guided in these, as in all other instances, by a high sense of duty and the strictest justice; and they are strongly of opinion that, when such a decision has been pronounced against a delinquent cadet by competent authority, it should not be interfered with. Nothing is so well calculated to beget a feeling of insubordination among the cadets as the setting aside the findings of courts martial, or the decision of the superintendent and officers in charge, upon insufficient grounds; satisfied, as we are, that the authority vested in the officers of the academy is exercised with the kindest feelings and the best motives, and that the infection of one insubordinate cadet works infinite mischief in the whole corps. Your committee are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that, except in extraordinary cases, the decrees of courts martial, and the decisions of the academic staff, ought not to be set aside or altered.

Your committee have received no little aid in their inquiries from the full and satisfactory statements furnished by the academic staff, touching the principles upon which every part of the instruction and discipline of the academy is conducted. In all these details they see little or no ground for improvement; and the excellence of the general system is abundantly proved by its fruits. Your committee observe, with great satisfaction, the correct deportment and manly bearing of the cadets whilst undergoing their several examinations; their confidence in themselves and in their professors, the good order and cleanliness of their quarters, and the neatness of their dress and persons. The employment of time during the day was carefully looked into, and your committee think it so well systematised, as to render any suggestions from them unnecessary. The excellent methods of classifying the cadets according to their proficiency in their studies and general correctness of conduct can-

not be improved. In fine, your committee are unanimously of opinion that the military instruction, general discipline, and internal police of the academy, at the present time, are in the best condition; and, while they contribute most efficiently to the public interest, reflect the highest credit upon the faithful and competent officers who are charged with their supervision.

One or two general remarks will close our report. While many regard standing armies as dangerous to a nation's liberties in time of peace, few will question their advantages in time of war. To reconcile the dangers and advantages, then, of standing armies, they should be so organized that, from a very moderate, they may, upon emergency, be increased to a very large size. This desideratum can only be obtained through the medium of a military academy, where the strictest discipline is enforced, and the highest branches of military science are carefully taught. The knowledge thus imparted, if not immediately available by reason of a general peace, is diffused among the people, and while highly useful when war does break out, becomes at once a valuable auxiliary in the prosecution of those various works of internal improvement upon which the growth and prosperity of our country so largely depend. Those who remember the humiliating disasters, the loss of life and treasure, at the commencement of our last war with Great Britain, and contrast with these the brilliant results, uninterrupted by a single reverse, of the late campaigns in Mexico, will need no other arguments than these facts and the inferences fairly deducible from them furnish, to make them appreciate properly the advantages of such an institution as the academy at West Point. Through its agency, a knowledge of the science of war, in principle and practice, is imparted to a sufficient number of our citizens to enable us to cope, on a footing of equality, with the most powerful and skilful enemy. Nor are the benefits of the academy confined to the regular army. It is all-important as a seminary for the instruction of officers of the militia. If we observe the organization of the volunteer and uniform corps in the principal cities of the Union, we find among their best officers graduates of the Military Academy, who, after a longer or shorter period of public service, have retired to the pursuits of civil life, only, however, to be sought out there and summoned to take high and responsible stations in the line and staff. The recent campaigns in Mexico afford frequent and gratifying instances of graduates of the academy returning from private life to the public service, and by their brave and skilful conduct as officers of volunteers, and in other capacities, repaying the debt they owed their country, and reflecting lustre upon their *alma mater*.

In conclusion, your committee desire to bear the strongest testimony to the admirable organization and management of the academy, and to the fidelity and ability with which the officers intrusted with this responsible duty discharge their several trusts; and they entertain an abiding conviction that, while it continues to fulfil, as well and satisfactorily as now, the purposes for which it was established, it will enjoy, as it well deserves to do, the good opinion and the liberal support of the American people.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. McCALEB WILEY, *Chairman.*
RUFUS KING.
PATRICK M. HENRY.

Report of the Committee on Police.

The committee to which was assigned the duty of examining into, and reporting upon the system of police adopted by the various departments of the United States Military Academy, beg leave to report:

That the various officers to whom they have applied for information in relation to their appropriate duties, have not only treated them in the most courteous and gentlemanly manner, but extended to them every facility necessary for the accomplishment of their object.

Your committee beg leave to report, for the information of the board, that the old north barracks, which will necessarily be occupied by the cadets until the completion of the new quarters, are in a dilapidated condition. Owing to the natural decay of timber, bad ventilation, and the immediate vicinity of out-buildings provided for the use of the corps, an atmosphere is generated which is quite offensive, and necessarily prejudicial to the health of the young men, in spite of every precaution which can be used. Particularly will this apply to the lower floor. In this connexion, your committee would suggest that the board should urgently recommend to the attention of Congress the necessity of an appropriation, at its next session, sufficient to complete the new quarters. No reference is necessary to the old south barracks, which have been so much objected to by previous boards, as they will be so soon vacated. The new quarters, as far as completed, are built of the best materials, and in a style which reflects honor upon the government and credit upon the projector. From information obtained from the officers in charge of the building, your committee would state, that one wing or portion of the new barracks, containing one hundred rooms (for officers and cadets,) will be completed on or before the first day of September next, and the remaining portion in a year, or at most eighteen months, if a sufficient appropriation be made by Congress at its next session.

The basement story contains a room for fuel, bath rooms, and a furnace, all of which are well constructed. The apartments for the officers and cadets are peculiarly calculated for their health, comfort, and convenience. Especially would your committee refer with high approbation to the recesses in the rooms for sleeping and dressing. The arrangement enables the cadet to maintain a privacy well calculated to inculcate and preserve feelings of delicacy and propriety so characteristic of gentlemen. Independent of the furnace, which is intended to convey heated air, by means of flues, to every part of the building, the rooms are furnished with fireplaces, which are designed to be used in the event of the failure of the furnace or any part of the apparatus. Your committee cannot dismiss this subject without again referring to the baths, which they deem of great importance in a sanitary point of view, as they are so constructed that either the cold or warm bath can be used at pleasure. They would, however, recommend, in addition to those already supplied, a shower bath in each bathing room, as the cost would be very trifling; and in the event of a partial failure of the water, they could be substituted for the other baths.

The mess hall is in a state of decay, and insufficient for the health, comfort, and convenience of the cadets; and, although every means are

used to remedy the defects, your committee are of the opinion that it cannot be accomplished. A new building for the purpose is the only resource. With regard to the hospital for the cadets, your committee were pleased to find the rooms in admirable condition, and the bedding and furniture ample, and in good order. Your committee were satisfied, from their own observation, as well as from information supplied by the accomplished surgeon in charge, that every attention was rendered to the sick with reference to their comfort and restoration to health. It is deemed indispensably necessary that baths should be arranged in the hospital, not only as a sanitary measure, but as a remedy for many diseases incident to the cadets.

In consequence of the proximity of the road to the hospital, the condition of the sick is at times extremely unpleasant on account of the noise and dust; your committee would suggest, therefore, the propriety of changing it, so as to have it more immediately under the brow of the hill, which they are informed can readily be done.

The quarters of the engineer, artillery, and dragoon detachments were inspected, and found in excellent order; their food is of good quality, very substantial, and, from information derived from the men themselves, well prepared for the table.

But, unfortunately, there is no hospital to which they can be removed when sick; consequently, the indisposed are subjected to privations, and the surgeon of the post to great inconvenience. In the event of an epidemic or general disease, it would be impossible to provide them with quarters. Your committee would, therefore, earnestly recommend to the consideration of the board the necessity of establishing suitable buildings, as above indicated.

As an appropriation has already been made for a new riding hall, it is to be presumed that the government will prosecute it to completion without unnecessary delay. Your committee would, however, remark that the building now occupied for that purpose is insufficient and hazardous to both men and horses, and would therefore recommend to the attention of the board the necessity of abandoning it as soon as practicable.

The attention of your committee has been called to the importance of erecting a suitable guard-house for the soldiers on duty at the Point. Its best location would probably be at the public dock. There is a large amount of public property, for the protection of which there is no shelter. There is no sufficient place of confinement for soldiers who have made themselves liable to punishment for violation of orders or insubordination. For these reasons, your committee believe that the erection of a suitable building is necessary.

Your committee are pleased to observe the order and neatness maintained in the public buildings and grounds.

Though last, not least in importance, your committee are highly gratified by the general appearance of the cadets, not only as regards their health, but also that soldier-like and manly bearing which accords so well with those elevated qualities of the mind which pre-eminently fit them for usefulness to the country and ornaments to society.

In conclusion, your committee would remark, that they have given the subjects committed to their charge a full and thorough investigation. The

result is, the report which they now beg leave to submit to the consideration of the board.

H. HOUGHTON,
W. T. STOCKTON,
R. W. BURNET.

WEST POINT, *June* 15, 1849.

WEST POINT, *June* 15, 1849.

SIR: Since I had the pleasure of conversing with you, on the morning of the 12th instant, in reference to matters connected with the medical department of West Point, it has occurred to me that it was my duty to enter more fully into the character and causes of the complaints, on account of which cadets are most usually excused from duty, inasmuch as I feel persuaded that some of the causes may be measurably obviated, and as I am satisfied that their removal would cause the number of those who report sick to be diminished, and exert a salutary influence upon the character and standing of many of the young gentlemen assembled at this institution.

It has been a source of regret, and I may add of vexation, to every medical officer who has been stationed at West Point, to observe how large a number of the cadets evince a disposition to get excused from their military and academic duties, on the plea of indisposition, so trifling as hardly to be evidenced by any of the signs of disease. It has, moreover, been the experience of every medical officer, that the most faithful students and best soldiers are the most rarely to be seen at "surgeon's call," and it would hardly be an error to assert that, as a general rule, they who have the largest number of "demerits" most frequently request relief from duty on account of trifling indisposition—so trifling, if it really exists at all, as not to merit the appellation of disease. It gives me pleasure, however, to express my belief that a large majority of the corps of cadets stand on more elevated ground; and, doubtless, there are many who prefer attending to their duties, although even more unwell than those excused by the surgeon. The former usually take a high stand as soldiers and scholars; whilst the latter are found deficient, or, if they linger on through the period of four years and receive commissions, too often look back with regret at time misspent and opportunities for improvement neglected. It has frequently been a subject of serious consideration with the medical staff of the Military Academy, whether any means could be devised to break up this system of running to the surgeon on every trifling occasion—a system injurious to the cadets who adopt it, unfair for other cadets upon whom additional duty is thereby imposed, and a tax upon the patience of the medical officer, which, in addition to his other arduous duties, is well calculated to disgust him with his position and induce him to seek a change.

A reference to the register of sick, kept at the hospital, will show that "headache" stands opposite to the names of nearly one-fifth of the number recorded. In the spirit of the most extended charity, let us suppose that four-fifths of the cases reported as headache are *bona fide* cases of

that complaint? To what causes may they be legitimately referred? There are several which doubtless exert an influence. At the head of these may be placed the use of tobacco. This powerful narcotico-acrid luxury is, it is to be believed, in very general use by the corps of cadets, although positively forbidden by the academic regulations. How often may its noxious odor be detected in the breath of cadets who report "sick." To communicate the fact to the superintendent, when it is believed to be the cause of a cadet's indisposition, would seem to be nothing more than the duty of the medical officer. Unfortunately, an erroneous custom has acquired, by long continuance, the footing of a principle with the medical officers of West Point. The surgeon is looked upon as confidentially intrusted with the secrets of sick cadets, so far as their illness is concerned; and if an inquiry into the etiology of disease, with a view to its more successful management, should lead to the discovery that either the use of tobacco or of intoxicating drinks was the exciting cause, he is expected to confine the knowledge within his own bosom. A confidential friend the medical officer should assuredly be, under all proper circumstances; but never if that confidence induces him to run counter to the laws of the institution and the interests of cadets themselves. It is my deliberate opinion that this time-honored principle should be annihilated by an academic regulation making it a point of honor, from which there can be no appeal, for the surgeon to report every such case to the superintendent. It is due to the cadets themselves, to the discipline of the institution of which they are members, and to the government, the recipients of whose bounty the young gentlemen here assembled most certainly are. To enlarge upon the deleterious influence of tobacco upon the economy of man, especially whilst that economy is in process of development and before it has attained its full maturity, would here be out of place. Suffice it to say, that the most reliable authority will sustain me in asserting that its influence upon the nervous system of animal and organic life is primarily exciting, secondarily depressing—that it vitiates the character of the salivary secretion; impairs the functions of the stomach; produces mental as well as physical unsteadiness; creates a thirst for other stimulants; induces a desire for slothful indulgence, and, with few exceptions, slowly but surely disarranges the nervous harmonies of the system.

It is my professional conviction that if the use of this noxious drug could be effectually suppressed, the cases of headache would be very materially diminished. Another cause which I believe to be influential in the causation of headache, is the injurious tightness around the waist of the cadet uniform. I mention this with no wish to go beyond the limits of my peculiar province; but, satisfied as I am that it is a powerful predisposing and exciting cause of this complaint, I deem it my duty to embrace it in this communication. The erroneous notion that a small waist is essential to a correct military figure, seems to be very generally entertained by the corps. Hence, comfort is too often sacrificed to attain this, to them, most desirable object. The uniform coat is in a great many cases so confined in its dimensions around the waist that a mechanical obstacle is presented to the free play of the thoracic and abdominal organs. Hence result imperfect circulation through the chest and fullness of the vessels of the head, giving rise to headache, occasional feelings of vertigo, and other uncomfortable sensations. In addition, as a result of the same cause, we have

impeded action of the stomach and bowels, leading to constipation—itself a most efficient cause of headache. It is my conviction that if the waist measure of the cadet uniform were taken during a moderately full inspiration, so that their clothing would not produce injurious compression arround the chest and abdomen, and the use of tobacco at the same time effectually suppressed, headache would nearly disappear from the corps. It is true that the exercise of the brain in the severe studies of the academy, for which many have but little natural aptitude, would occasionally produce it, but it would rarely attain that severity which would induce them to apply for relief from all duty, academic and military.

The next most common complaint appearing on the register is catarrh. This, depending on atmospherical changes, is but little subject to our control; but it is believed that it will be much less common when the cadets shall occupy the new barracks now in progress of erection, especially as they will have the benefit of occasional bathing, which, by its salutary action upon the skin, will unquestionably diminish the tendency to catarrhal disorders. Constipation is likewise a very frequent subject of complaint, and was referred to incidentally, whilst on the subject of headache, as standing in the relation of cause and effect with that very common complaint.

In addressing you, sir, it is not necessary to dwell on the influence of this form of functional derangement upon the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of man. There are few individuals who have not had a personal experience of its depressing influence over the powers of the mind, its saddening effects upon the spirits, and its enervating power over the physical health. When we reflect that it has its seat in that system of organs which, by their associated action, constitute the great laboratory in which are prepared all the elements for the building up and repair of the system, that any derangement of that system irradiates an unwholesome influence throughout the whole economy, its great importance in relation to individual hygiene will be at once appreciated. It is obvious that in the corps of cadets there are causes in operation very influential in producing the derangement under consideration. It has always been the bane of the student's life; and to obviate it, and insure a regular functional action, requires a religious observance of custom which few have the firmness to persist in.

So vitally important, however, do I deem it to be in relation to health, and so common is habitual constipation in the corps, that the question may be seriously entertained whether it is not the duty of those charged with the various interests of cadets to prescribe some regulations which might indirectly aid in the removal of this very common and distressing complaint. An enlarged view of our responsibilities to the young men here assembled, would certainly induce us to look to all their interests, moral, intellectual, and physical; and as they are at a period of life when habits are being formed which will tell for weal or wo upon their future career, it is certainly our duty to promote the formation of such as will best secure their own health and happiness, and render them most useful to the country for whose service they are educated. Constipation, I am satisfied, would not be so frequently complained of, if the use of tobacco were effectually suppressed; and it is believed that the addition to the cadet fare of stewed fruits three times a week would be of great advan-

tage in promoting that regular condition of the alvine canal so vitally essential to the maintenance of general health.

Such an addition to their diet would, it is believed, measurably obviate that tendency to painful boils which interferes so frequently with their military duties.

Inflamed corns and excoriations of the feet mostly complete the catalogue of their ills. These depending in a great measure upon the faulty construction of their shoes, a diminution of them would speedily follow a more correct manufacture of that article of uniform. A superficial view of the matters above referred to might lead to the impression that they are but of little moment. But an experience of nearly four years at the Military Academy has satisfied me that the standing of many cadets is influenced by the facility with which they secure an excuse from duty for their many complaints, some of them of a very trifling character; a habit of running to the medical officer is contracted; studies are neglected at night because there is a "surgeon's call" in the morning to which they can flee for refuge. A slight headache, or a trifling feeling of indisposition, is sufficient to make them close their text books. This is, perhaps, the commencement of a retrograde movement in their studies: they proceed slowly, but surely, from bad to worse, until finally it is to be feared that, in some cases, painful as the supposition may be, deception is deliberately practised, in order to secure an excuse from duty. A cadet who can so far forget himself as to practise such deception, surely should not be deemed a person fit to hold a commission in his country's service. Let the provisional code of honor established for his guidance, and as a shelter for his conscience, be what it may, the practice of such deception evinces a perversion of the moral sense which augurs no good for the future.

I look upon our whole system as radically defective. "Surgeon's call" is plainly an inducement for the indolent to indulge their indolence. "Sick in quarters" is an absurdity which should no longer be tolerated. With our present box of a hospital, it cannot be otherwise.

There should be constructed a building on the proper plan, large enough to accommodate the maximum number of sick. Every cadet who reports sick should at once be sent to hospital, and there remain until fit for duty. All unnecessary visiting to sick cadets should be positively forbidden. In case of serious illness of a cadet, the presence of his select friends would be always permitted, to comfort and nurse him. If such a system were established, I am satisfied it would exert a salu[illegible]ry influence. They—and, unfortunately, there are some, who avail themselves of an excuse from duty to pursue their own pleasures—would [illegible]d the confinement of a hospital. The really sick would gladly seek [illegible]omfort and repose of a well regulated establishment. If any rep[illegible]d sick without cause, they could be safely subjected to the treatment [illegible]propriate to the sickness of which they complain. There would be nothing harsh in this system, and I am persuaded that it would speedily [illegible]mmend itself to the good sense of the corps.

I know for a certainty, that there have been sensitive and highly organized young gentlemen at the institution who have suffered from indisposition for fear of being confounded with those who they knew were trifling.

When it is co[illegible]sidered that, during each quarter of the year, some four

hundred and fifty report sick, and this in a corps every individual of which undergoes a strict physical examination previous to admission, and at a post notorious for its salubrity, the suggestions I have made will not be deemed unworthy of consideration. I am convinced that great benefit would result from a change of system; that much precious time would be saved to the cadets; that habits of indolence would not be so frequently contracted, and that many who, under the present system, are forming habits which may tell most unfavorably upon their prospects of success, would take a stand honorable to themselves, and creditable to the institution of which they are members. The position of a medical officer at West Point is one of great delicacy; he has to deal professionally with a large number of young men of various dispositions, temperaments, and moral feelings, who have left their homes and entered upon untried and trying duties. They must be treated with firmness, yet with kindness. Great allowances should be made and are made for them. But experience unfortunately teaches that some will deliberately deceive and impose upon the medical officers of the post. How to discriminate the innocent from the guilty is a most difficult matter. If the approaches of disease were not often insidious, but always assumed a distinguishable garb, our embarrassment would not be so painful. As it is, our duty plainly is to err on the side of safety; but in so doing, I am satisfied we indirectly encourage habits which militate powerfully against the success of many cadets at this institution. Were the proposed modification adopted, so far as allowing none to be "sick in quarters," and placing every one reporting sick immediately under hospital surveillance, the difficulty would be in a great measure obviated. It had been my intention to touch upon some other matters which appertain to my department; but this communication has been already so extended as to trespass, I fear, upon your time.

After a long delay, justice has at length been done to the enlisted men at this post. An appropriation for the building of a hospital has been secured, which it is hoped will soon be used in its construction. I have latterly most painfully felt the want of suitable accommodations for the sick soldier, who is as fairly entitled to them as a cadet or a commissioned officer.

A severe epidemic of small pox appeared last winter in miserably crowded barracks, during the prevalence of which, for four weeks, I was compelled to breathe the concentrated poison of virulent small pox. My ow personal exposure was a matter of small moment compared with t amount of suffering I witnessed at that time, which I felt was much gravated by the want of suitable accommodations for the sick.

I cannot conclude without alluding to the growing evil of the v ac-cumulation of families in Logtown and Camptown, dependencies this post. Every enlisted man feels himself privileged to get marrie nd no check or limit is opposed to it. The consequence is, that the q ters are crowded with women and children—the latter, from the very cessity of the case, feeble and unhealthy. The humanity of the medi officers is painfully taxed in giving medical attendance to so many wh have no official claims upon them; and their time, which is clearly t ir own when not officially employed, is so cut up that no systematic ourse of study can be prosecuted with a view to professional improvement. But this is part only of the evil resulting from the existing state of things. I am

convinced that contagious and infectious diseases have been occasionally introduced at West Point through the visits of acquaintances and friends of the families of enlisted men; these acquaintances and friends frequently levying an additional tax upon the time and attentions of the surgeon and assistant surgeon of the post. The commencement of this evil dates very far back, and no one now at the academy can be considered responsible for it; but it has now attained such dimensions as imperiously to demand the pruning-knife of reform. The surgeon and assistant surgeon are prepared to respond to all reasonable calls upon their humane feelings; but there is a limit beyond which endurance ceases to be a virtue, and it is time for them to act in self-defence. In justice to myself and those who may succeed me at this post, I would suggest either that the number of families of enlisted men at this post should be reduced to the legal standard; or, if it should be deemed expedient that all now present should remain and an increase still encouraged, that medicines and suitable medical attendance be provided for them out of the funds of the Military Academy. The duties of medical officers at West Point are sufficiently arduous without having extra burdens imposed on them; and simple justice requires that some steps should be taken, if not to diminish the evil complained of, at all events to arrest its further progress.

I have the honor to be, with high respect,

ROBERT SOUTHGATE,

Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., acting Surgeon Military Academy.

Dr. H. Houghton,

Chairman of the Committee on Police, &c.

Of the Fiscal Affairs.

The undersigned committee, appointed by the "board of visiters," to investigate and report upon the fiscal concerns of the United States Military Academy, respectfully report:

That, in accordance with the duty imposed upon them, they proceeded to make such inquiries, at the proper offices connected with the academy, as were naturally indicated by their appointment; and have the pleasure state, that in the discharge of their functions they have received from ry department and from the several officers in charge every facility of stigation, accompanied on their part by a deportment and civility ting the officers of such an institution, beyond which in commenda- hing need be said.

bra information sought has been developed under three distinct treasu that of the engineer department, the quartermaster's, and the

The

racks, a eer department has charge of the erection of the new bar-

The appro disbursements necessary therefor.

the 30th ns by the government for this purpose, up to

Add to this 1849, make the aggregate amount of	$107,500 00
ing 30th Ju ount appropriated for the fiscal year end- 50	40,000 00
aking	147,500 00

The amount of the appropriations expended to the 1st of June, 1849, was - - - - - $102,380 28

Leaving an amount of former appropriations remaining on hand on the 1st June, 1849, of - - - - 45,119 72

Although your committee are aware that the completion of the new barracks is not a subject strictly within their purview, they cannot refrain from expressing their opinion upon the excellence of the work—now so far advanced as to afford accommodation for 18 subaltern officers and 128 cadets, besides an office for the commandant of cadets, guard rooms, bathing establishments, &c. The building, so far as erected, your committee conceive to be worthy of the United States. Built of hewn granite and elegant in its architectural proportions, it is light, airy, every way convenient, and by reason of any common casualty indestructible.

There is yet required for the completion of these barracks, and the necessary outbuildings, agreeably to the estimate of the engineer, the further sum of $48,500 ; and we would suggest to the board, therefore, an urgent recommendation to Congress for a speedy appropriation for the completion of the work. When finished agreeably to the plan designed, it will accommodate 128 cadets more, and furnish a large hall for the Dialectic Society connected with the institution.

The department of the quartermaster exhibits the amount of appropriations for the academy, (not including the pay of the cadets,) and the disbursements of the same ; being for repairs and improvements of the buildings, fuel, apparatus, forage, postage, stationery, &c.

Added to these are the miscellaneous and incidental expenditures of the different departments of engineering, mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, &c., all of which are particularly set forth in the paper (marked A) herewith submitted to the board.

The aggregate amount of appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849, is $31,655 ; in addition to this there was unexpended at the close of the fiscal year the sum of $2,374 62 ; of this amount there is unexpended and available for the residue of the fiscal year $9,132 78.

These appropriations your committee regard as wisely made, prudently expended, and essential to the interests and prosperity of the academy.

All the items of expenditure are subjected to rigid investigation, even to the passing of every individual account. The vouchers of disbursements from the quartermaster's office are forwarded to the office of th
Chief Engineer, at Washington city, where they are critically examine
after which they are sent to the Third Auditor and again examined;
to the Second Comptroller for adjustment, by whom they are retur-
the Third Auditor, in whose office they are retained ; and if not fou he
rect, a statement of differences or errors is immediately forward
office here for explanation or correction. the

The treasurer's office exhibits the disbursement of the nd the
cadets. The pay of the cadet is $24 per month without ra enses of
disbursements embrace his board, clothing, and incident
every kind.. his money

Each cadet on entering the institution is required to d credit upon
on hand with the treasurer, for which he receives a che supplied with
his account. And thereafter the cadet is not allowed

pocket money or funds from home or elsewhere, for any purpose whatever, except with the approbation of the superintendent, who has the personal inspection and control of the expenditures of each individual cadet, however small.

All the members of the institution, whether rich or poor, are thus placed upon an equality. All the wants of the cadet are cared for and supplied to the extent of their means, but all supplies are furnished under the discretion and by order of the superintendent. The further operation of this rule is not only to exclude all unnecessary and improper indulgences, but to inculcate and enforce those principles of rigid economy not more essential to the welfare of the individual, than to the character of every one intrusted with the concerns of others, and more especially the financial interests of the government, however humble the sphere in which he may be called to act.

Paper B, hereto also appended, sets forth the various items, or branches of expenditure, absorbing the pay of the cadet. It is an exhibit of the settlement of accounts every two months, and running through an entire year from the 1st May, 1848, to 1st May, 1849. From this is readily obtained the average monthly expenses of board, clothing, and incidentals, arranged under the respective heads, of the whole corps of cadets, and the average amount for two months paid and retained from each, the whole number being 230.

So far as the mode of keeping the accounts in this department is concerned, your committee cannot but regard it as well ordered and effective, presenting proper aggregate results and accurate in detail ; but, from their investigations in the treasurer's department, they are satisfied that the pay of cadets, under their present expenditures, is generally insufficient for their support. A large portion of the cadets, notwithstanding the most rigid economy and the constant and careful supervision of the superintendent, find themselves in debt more or less at the close of their academic career.

This committee therefore hope that the committee of administration, who have this subject under their special charge, may be able to report some method by which the boarding of the cadets may be reduced in price, without reducing its quality or abridging in any way the comforts of the corps.

If this should be thought impracticable, your committee are decidedly of opinion that the board of visiters should recommend the restoration of the former pay of the cadets, which is understood to have been $28 per month.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JNO. L. GOW,
JEROME FULLER, } *Fiscal Committee.*
H. HOUGHTON,

West Point, *June* 13, 1849.

A.

Statement of funds available and disbursements made by Captain Henry Brewerton, Corps of Engineers, Superintendent United States Military Academy, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849.

Heads of appropriations.	Unexpended at the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1848.	Additions in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849.		Aggregate available for fiscal year ending June 30, 1849.	Expended to June 8, 1849.	Balance available June 9, 1849.	Due sundry creditors on June 30, 1849.	Available for remainder of fiscal year, 1849.	Remarks.
	Amount.	From appropriations.	From other sources.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.	
Repairs and improvements	$527 91	$9,000 00	$58 14	$9,586 05	$7,700 09	$1,885 96	$1,173 55	$712 41	
Fuel and apparatus	....	7,200 00	637 89	7,837 89	5,425 63	2,412 26	785 00	1,627 26	
Forage	....	1,700 00	22 43	1,722 43	1,241 08	481 35	....	481 35	
Postage	....	50 00	....	50 00	22 31	27 69	8 00	19 69	
Stationery	....	375 00	17 18	392 18	207 96	184 22	100 00	84 22	
Transportation	....	1,500 00	....	1,500 00	1,431 42	68 58	....	68 58	
Printing	....	550 00	....	550 00	120 50	429 50	64 50	365 00	
Clerks	....	1,730 00	40 00	1,770 00	1,502 49	267 51	227 51	40 00	
Miscellaneous and incidental	1,400 84	1,140 00	4 62	2,545 46	2,457 80	87 66	28 62	59 04	
Department of engineering	....	500 00	....	500 00	....	500 00	....	500 00	For purchase of models.
Department of philosophy	....	150 00	....	150 00	98 81	51 19	....	51 19	For repairs of apparatus, &c.
Department of mathematics	....	370 00	....	370 00	....	370 00	....	370 00	For purchase of theodolite, &c.
Department of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology	....	2,500 00	....	2,500 00	2,321 92	178 08	3 00	175 08	For purchase of chemicals.
Department of ethics	....	100 00	....	100 00	30 00	70 00	....	70 00	For purchase of maps, &c.
Department of drawing	....	310 00	....	310 00	15 53	294 47	200 00	94 47	For purchase of models.

Department of artillery and cavalry	....	2,203 00	....	2,203 00	19 14	2,183 86	....	2,183 86	$2,000 for a gun shed.
Department of fencing	....	200 00	....	200 00	57 22	142 78	45 50	97 28	For purchase of foils, gloves, and masks.
Department of infantry tactics	....	577 00	....	577 00	115 53	461 47	....	461 47	For purchase of fire engine, hose, &c.
Gradual increase and expense of library	445 87	1,500 00	....	1,945 87	265 19	1,680 68	8 80	1,671 88	Will be expended the present summer.
	2,374 62	31,655 00	780 26	34,809 88	23,032 62	11,777 26	2,644 48	9,132 78	

United States Military Academy, West Point, *New York, June* 11, 1849.

HEN. BREWERTON
Captain Corps of Engineers, Superintendent Military Academy.

To John L. Gow, Esq.,
President Finance Committee, Board of Visiters

B.

Statement of authorized amounts paid the following by the treasurer of the United States Military Academy, on account of cadets, from May 1, 1848, *to May* 1, 1849.

	May and June, 1848.	July and Aug., 1848.	Sept. and Oct., 1848.	Nov. and Dec., 1848.	Jan. and Feb., 1849.	Mar. and Ap'l, 1849.	Total amount for one year.	Average amount for two months.	Average amount, for two months paid and retained from each cadet (numbering 230) by treasurer of U. S. Military Academy.
Purveyor of cadets' commons	$4,079 20	$4,106 35	$4,410 04	$4,627 65	$4,265 79	$4,178 93	$25,667 96	$4,277 97	$18 59
Storekeeper	1,382 02	2,200 22	1,862 46	1,358 08	1,324 47	1,028 25	9,155 50	1,525 91	6 63
Commissary of cadets' clothing	1,598 63	4,477 25	1,949 68	1,674 81	1,577 85	1,439 02	12,717 24	2,119 54	9 21
Shoemaker	301 42	922 87	547 11	475 27	368 15	373 43	2,989 25	498 20	2 16
Barber, shoe-blacking, and varnishing	176 66	164 39	170 83	165 12	150 35	168 68	996 03	166 00	72
Postage	227 69	244 82	261 32	355 13	297 37	261 19	1,647 52	274 58	1 19
Making fires and policing barracks of cadets	99 71	69 33	142 58	207 86	198 54	187 65	905 67	150 94	65
Baths used by cadets	....	....	....	53 05	77 95	74 50	205 50	68 50	29
Damages of public property	25 87	1 37	15 93	9 28	1 84	1 19	55 48	9 24	4
Washing done for cadets	920 89	864 12	989 11	960 82	883 55	862 98	5,481 47	913 57	3 97
Equipment fund (retained by treasurer)	924 00	948 00	980 00	956 00	880 00	868 00	5,556 00	926 00	4 00
Miscellaneous payments	410 62	1,081 08	447 76	466 53	266 33	357 58	3,029 90	504 98	2 19
* Balance paid cadets when graduating or resigning	7,611 60	520 58	258 18	311 98	591 41	339 03	9,632 78	1,605 46	6 98
	20,758 31	15,600 38	12,035 00	11,621 58	10,883 60	10,140 43	78,040 30	13,040 89	56 62

* The miscellaneous payments embrace the "lithographic fund," "rules and triangles fund," "Dialectic Society fund," "the use of cap-plates and plumes," "*band fund*," being a stoppage of *twenty-five cents per month;* the use of iron *bedsteads and tables, twenty cents per month,* (*charged the fourth class only;*) dentist, dancing-master, subscription to newspaper, &c.

TREASURER'S OFFICE, WEST POINT, N. Y., *June* 9, 1849.

B. S. ALEXANDER,
Lieutenant of Engineers and Treasurer of Military Academy.

Tabular statement exhibiting the condition in life of the cadets at the Military Academy, West Point, for the last seven years, from 1842 to 1848, inclusive.

	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.
Parents are or were farmers or planters	59	61	61	68	72	67	69
Parents are or were mechanics	14	12	15	22	22	25	22
Fathers are or were lawyers or judges	27	25	30	35	33	30	29
Parents are or were merchants	18	15	23	27	29	29	31
Parents are or were boarding-house or hotel keepers	5	2	4	3	7	6	4
Fathers are or were physicians	12	15	15	13	21	19	21
Fathers are or were of the army, navy, or marine corps	14	16	16	13	11	13	17
Fathers are or were clergymen	4	6	6	6	5	3	3
Fathers are or were in the civil employment of the general or State governments	5	15	16	9	5	2	3
Miscellaneous, as bank officers, editors, professors, engineers, masters of vessels, &c.	15	11	15	23	35	36	41
Occupation not stated: *these have mothers only, or no parents*	48	34	*23	†17	1	2	2
Total	221	212	224	236	241	232	242
Of these numbers, there are without fathers living	26	57	44	48	42	41	54
Of these numbers, there are without either father or mother living	22	16	18	15	21	20	18
Total orphans	48	73	62	63	63	61	72
Of these numbers, the parents are stated to be in moderate circumstances, of		156	150	164	192	182	193
Of these numbers, the parents are stated to be in reduced circumstances, of	182	26	37	36	35	38	40
Of these numbers, the parents are stated to be in indigent circumstances, of		6	8	8	8	8	4
Of these numbers, the parents are stated to be independent in life, of	....	6	10	12	6	4	5
Of these numbers, the parents are stated to be in unknown circumstances, of	39	18	19	16	....	....	....
	221	212	224	236	241	232	242

* Two of these have parents.

† Three have parents.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Visiters at West Point, June, 1849.

FIRST DAY.

WEST POINT, *Monday, June* 4.

The board of visiters invited to attend the annual examination at West Point Military Academy having convened at the hotel, at 10 a. m., the following members appeared and took their seats:

John H. B. Latrobe, of Maryland.
J. McCaleb Wiley, of Alabama.
Jerome Fuller, of New York.
Henry S. Bullard, of Louisiana.
John F. Gow, of Pennsylvania.
William T. Stockton, of Florida.
Rufus King, of Wisconsin.
Henry Houghton, of Iowa.

On motion of General Wiley, of Alabama, the board was temporarily organized by the appointment of

John H. B. Latrobe, of Maryland, president *pro tem.;*
Rufus King, of Wisconsin, secretary *pro tem.*

The board was then waited upon by the superintendent and the members of the academic staff, and, attended by them, proceeded to examine the library, barracks, recitation rooms, mess hall, and other buildings connected with the institution. They afterwards received the honors of a military review, and partook of the hospitalities of the superintendent's mansion.

In the afternoon a communication was received from the post adjutant, covering a copy of the order of exercises for the annual examination; which was laid before the board for their information and government.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

SECOND DAY.—*Tuesday, June* 5, 1849.

The board met at 8 a. m., in the visiters' room at the hotel.

Messrs. R. W. Burnet, of Ohio, Daniel Tyler, of Connecticut, Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, and P. M. Henry, of North Carolina, appeared and took their seats as members of the board.

The president *pro tem.* announced as the first business in order the selection of officers.

Whereupon,

On motion of Mr. Mann, it was unanimously

Resolved, That John H. B. Latrobe, of Maryland, be chosen president, and Rufus King, of Wisconsin, secretary of the board.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the first class was examined, from 9 a. m. until 1 p. m., and from 3 to 5 p. m., in military and civil engineering, under direction of Professor Mahan and Lieutenant Eustis.

8 *o'clock p. m.*

The board met pursuant to a notice from the president.

On motion of Mr. Fuller, it was

Resolved, That committees of three each be appointed, to whom shall be referred the subjects, respectively, of the instruction, administration, police, discipline, and fiscal affairs of the Military Academy, with instructions to examine and report upon the same, in writing, to the board.

In accordance with the foregoing resolution, the president announced the following standing committees:

Committee on Instruction.—Messrs. Mann, Bullard, and King.

Committee on Administration.—Messrs. Tyler, Burnet, and Gow.

Committee on Police.—Messrs. Houghton, Stockton, and Burnet.

Committee on Discipline.—Messrs. Wiley, King, and Henry.

Committee on Fiscal Affairs.—Messrs. Gow, Fuller, and Houghton.

On motion of Mr. Mann, it was unanimously

Resolved, That it would be agreeable to the views and wishes of this board to have the regulation prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors in the hotel, extended to the room occupied by them.

On motion of General Wiley, it was

Resolved, That regular meetings of the board be held, daily, at 8 a. m. and 8 p. m., until otherwise ordered.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

THIRD DAY.—*Wednesday, June 6, 8 a. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

There being no business before them, the board proceeded to the library, where the examination of the first class in engineering was concluded, and that of the second class in philosophy, under the direction of Professor Bartlett and Lieutenant Roberts, was commenced and continued, with the usual intermission, until 5 p. m.

At a quarter past 5, the board attended a light artillery drill by the first class, under the charge of Captain Clark.

8 o'clock p. m.

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Colonel A. H. Kenan, of Georgia, appointed in lieu of General Clinch, who declined, appeared and took his seat as a member of the board, and was appointed a member of the committee on administration, in the place of Mr. Gow.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

FOURTH DAY.—*June 7, 8 a. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

There being no other business before them, the board proceeded to the library, where the examination of the second class in philosophy was resumed, and continued till the usual hour of adjournment.

The board met again at 8 p. m., and after a brief session, adjourned till 8 a. m., to-morrow.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

FIFTH DAY.

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of yesterday's meeting were read and approved.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the examination of the second class in philosophy was resumed and concluded, and that of the first class in ethics, under charge of the Reverend Mr. Sprole and Lieutenant Deshon, was commenced and continued till the usual hour of adjournment.

The board next attended the riding exercise of the first class.

8 *o'clock p. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The president announced the classification of subjects for the consideration of the different committees.

On motion of Mr. Mann, it was

Resolved, That the superintendent be respectfully requested, at as early a period as may be practicable and convenient, to call the first class of cadets into the drawing academy, and there inform them that they are expected forthwith, under the charge of a suitable person deputed for the purpose, and in his presence, each for himself, and without advice or assistance from any other person, to date, address, write, subscribe, fold and superscribe a letter, of not less than one letter-paper page in length, on whatever subject the writer may himself select, and address the same to the president of the board of visiters.

Resolved, That the time allowed for preparing the letters, as above described, be one half hour.

Resolved, That the president of the board be charged with the execution of these resolves.

On motion of Mr. Fuller, it was

Resolved, That the board will pay their respects, in a body, to Major General Scott, of the U. S. army, at 12 m. to-morrow.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

SIXTH DAY.

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of yesterday's meeting were read and approved.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the examination of the first class of ethics was concluded, and that of the third class in mathematics, under charge of Professor Church, was commenced and continued till 1 p. m., when the examination was adjourned over till 9 a. m., Monday.

At 12 m., the board, pursuant to resolution adopted yesterday, waited in a body upon General Scott, and were received by him with great cordiality. Before leaving the library the president of the board received from

the adjutant the letters written by the first class, in conformity with the resolution adopted last evening.

The board re-assembled at 8 p. m., and there being no business before them, adjourned over till 8 a. m., Monday next.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

SEVENTH DAY.—*Monday, June* 9, 8 *a. m.*

The board met pursuant to adjournment.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Mann, it was

Resolved, That the letters which have been received from the members of the first class, testing their composition, be returned to the respective writers, through some member of the class who may be deputed to receive them.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the examination of the third class in mathematics was resumed and continued till 5 p. m.

At quarter past 5 the board attended a battalion drill, by the corps of cadets, under the command of Captain Alden.

At 8 p. m., the board had a long interview with the superintendent, and discussed at much length various topics relating to the administration and fiscal affairs of the academy.

Subsequently the board paid their respects in a body to the honorable Millard Fillmore, Vice President of the United States.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

EIGHTH DAY.—*Tuesday, June* 12, 8 *a. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of yesterday's meeting were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Tyler, it was

Resolved, That a general report be prepared by the board, to which the reports of the several committees be added by way of appendix.

Mr. Abbott, of Maine, who arrived yesterday, appeared and took his seat as a member of the board, and was assigned to duty on the committee on administration, in lieu of Mr. Burnet.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the examination of the third class in mathematics was resumed and concluded, and that of the first class in mineralogy and geology, under Professor Bailey and Lieutenant Clarke, commenced, and completed at 4½ p. m.

At 5½ p. m., the board, by invitation, attended a ponton drill by the company of sappers and miners, under command of Captain Cullum and Brevet Captain McClelland.

8 *o'clock p. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

There being no business before them, the board, after a discussion of various matters relating to the institution, adjourned till 8 a. m., to-morrow.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

Ninth Day.—*Wednesday, June 13, 8 a. m.*

The board met pursuant to adjournment.

The minutes of yesterday's meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Gow, from the committee on fiscal affairs, reported at length upon the matters referred to them; which report was unanimously adopted.

There being no other business before them, the board then adjourned to the library, where the examination of the fourth class in mathematics, under the charge of Professor Church and assistants, was commenced and continued, with the usual intermission, until 5 p. m.

At 8 p. m., the board met, and having no business before them, adjourned till 8 a. m., to-morrow.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

Tenth Day.—*Thursday, June 14, 8 a. m.*

The board met pursuant to adjournment.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Mann, from the committee on instruction, submitted a report, which was unanimously adopted.

After a brief discussion of various matters relating to the institution, the board adjourned to the library, where the examination of the fourth class in mathematics was concluded, and that of the first class in tactics was commenced and continued till 5 p. m.

At 11 a. m., the board attended the cavalry drill, and at 5 p. m., artillery practice by the first class.

8 o'clock p. m.

The board met pursuant to rule.

Leave of absence was granted to Colonel Kenan for the remainder of the session. Mr. Fuller was placed upon the committee on administration, in lieu of Colonel Kenan.

Mr. Houghton, from the committee on police, submitted a report, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Henry, from the committee on discipline, submitted a report, which was unanimously adopted.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

Eleventh Day.—*Friday, June 15, 8 a. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

Minutes of yesterday's meeting read and approved.

Mr. Tyler, from the committee on administration, submitted a report, which was unanimously adopted.

The board then proceeded to the library, where the examination of the first class in tactics was resumed and concluded.

At 5 p. m., the board attended the mortar practice of the first class, and at 8 p. m. had the pleasure of listening to an address delivered before the corps of cadets, by the honorable Horace Mann.

Adjourned.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

TWELFTH DAY.—*Saturday, June* 16, 8 *a. m.*

The board met pursuant to rule.

The minutes of yesterday's meetings were read and approved.

The president submitted the draught of the general report of the board, which was read, considered, and laid on the table until this evening.

The board then proceeded to attend the examination of the third class in French, under the charge of Professor Agnel.

At 11 a. m., the board was present at a review of the corps by Major General Scott; also, at 12 m., attended a drill of the sappers and miners.

8 *o'clock p. m.*

The board met, and minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

A letter was received from Dr. Southgate, acting surgeon of the post, which was read and ordered to be included in the documents accompanying the general report; as was also a table showing the condition in life of the cadets, at the time of their appointment, for each year during the last seven years.

On motion of Mr. Gow, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the thanks of the board be and they are hereby presented to the president and secretary, for the fidelity and urbanity with which they have discharged their respective duties.

Adjourned till 8 a. m., Monday.

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

THIRTEENTH DAY.

The board met pursuant to adjournment.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The general report of the board was called up, adopted, and signed by all the members.

The board then proceeded to the library and academic building, where they attended the examination of the third class in French and the fencing exercise of the first class.

At 1 p. m., the board, having completed their business, after a session (Sundays included) of fifteen days, adjourned *sine die.*

RUFUS KING, *Secretary.*

The average amount of cadets' board at cadets' commons at West Point, N. Y., from March 1, 1837, *to May* 1, 1849.

From	To	Amount
March 1, 1837, to	December 31, 1837	$11 12
January 1, 1838, to	31, 1838	11 08
1, 1839, to	31, 1839	10 10
1, 1840, to	31, 1840	8 54
1, 1841, to	31, 1841	8 75
1, 1842, to	31, 1842	8 54
1, 1843, to	31, 1843	8 08
1, 1844, to	31, 1844	7 91
1, 1845, to	31, 1845	9 08
1, 1846, to	31, 1846	8 87
1, 1847, to	31, 1847	9 18
1, 1848, to	31, 1848	9 24
1, 1849, to April	30, 1849	9 50

The cadets boarded by Jacob H. Holt from the 1st of April, 1837, to the 30th of April, 1839, and by William H. Clark since the 1st of May, 1839.

Average amount of board by J. H Holt, $10 76.

Average amount of board by W. H. Clark, $8 76.

Mr. Holt made an error against himself on account of cadets' board, which was recharged them, making the amount of board as above stated.

Under Colonel R. E. De Russy's administration from March 1, 1837, to September 1, 1838.

Under Major R. Delafield's administration from September 1, 1838, to August 14, 1845.

Under Captain H. Brewerton's administration from August 14, 1845.

TREASURER'S OFFICE, U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY,
June 16, 1849.

Statement of the number of cadets that boarded at the mess commons, from May 1, 1848, *to May* 1, 1849, *and the amount audited by the board of survey during the same periods, together with the amount of cash received by the purveyor for sale of hides, tallow, bread, &c., credited the account of cadets' commons on the books of the treasurer's office, at West Point, New York.*

	Number of cadets present and absent during the month.	Number of cadets absent during the month.	Number of cadets present during the month.	Number of cadets boarding at Mrs. Thompson's.	Total number of cadets boarding in mess commons.
Number of cadets during the month of May, 1848	233	3	230	12	218
Number of cadets during the month of June, 1848	229	113	116	12	104
Number of cadets admitted to board in June, 1848	71	....	71	....	71
Number of new and old cadets in July 1848	249	63	186	12	174
Do............do.....in August, 1848	253	63	190	12	178
Do............do.....in Sept., 1848	257	11	246	12	234
Do............do.....in October, 1848	256	13	243	12	231
Do............do.....in Nov., 1848	246	5	241	12	229
Do............do.....in Dec., 1848	241	6	235	12	223
Do............do.....in Jan., 1849	237	19	218	12	206
Do............do.....in Feb., 1849	230	13	217	12	205
Do............do.....in March, 1849	226	10	216	12	204
Do............do.....in April, 1849	225	10	215	12	203
	2,953	329	2,624	....	2,480
The average number for one month...	246 1-12	27 5-12	218⅔	12	206⅔

Days 75,433.

113 cadets absent from June 19, 1848, viz: graduating class, 50; furlough class, 63. The average time of the arrival of new cadets at United States Military Academy, June 8, 1848.

To amount of cash received by the purveyor for the sale of hides, tallow, bread, &c., during the following months, credited the account of the cadets' commons on the books of the treasurer's office:

For May and June, 1848 - - - - -	$357 15
For July and August, 1848 - - - - -	300 00
For September and October, 1848 - - - -	379 48
For November and December, 1848 - - - -	303 02
For January and February, 1849 - - - -	350 51
For March and April, 1849 - - - - -	333 16
Total amount - - - - -	2,023 32
Average - - - - -	337 22

To amount of board audited by the board of survey, from May 1, 1848, to April 30, 1849, viz:

For the months of	May and June, 1848 - - -	$3,715 40
Do.	July and August, 1848 - - -	3,427 38
Do.	September and October, 1848 - -	3,836 61
Do.	November and December, 1848 - -	4,076 18
Do.	January and February, 1849 - -	3,919 36
Do.	March and April, 1849 - - -	3,726 65
	Amount - - - - -	22,301 48
	Average, two months - - - -	3,716 91⅓

TREASURER'S OFFICE, WEST POINT, *June* 13, 1849.

Statement of balances due by and in favor of cadets United States Military Academy, on settlement of their accounts in treasurer's office from 1st May, 1848, to 30th April, 1849.

	Storekeeper.	Clothing department.	Shoemaker.	Treasurer.	Total amount.	Balance in favor of cadets.	Remarks.
For May and June, 1848..........	$882 00	$1,059 36	$107 28	$16 27	$2,065 13	$866 10	The balance due by the cadets, excludes their "equipment fund," that being a stoppage of $2 per month, which amount is reserved agreeably to article XI, Regulations of the United States Military Academy, and paid them when graduating, resigning, or being discharged from the Military Academy.
For July and August, 1848........	1,650 26	2,266 67	211 90	2 89	4,131 72	1,066 73	
For September and October, 1848..	1,795 73	1,960 88	157 29	......	3,913 90	1,489 59	
For November and December, 1848.	1,376 31	1,441 81	115 92	13 05	2,947 09	1,798 45	
For January and February, 1849...	1,080 02	1,359 70	47 00	......	2,486 72	2,562 26	
For March and April, 1849.......	825 31	1,042 57	37 31	......	1,905 19	3,385 21	
Average,..................	1,268 30	1,521 83	112 78	5 37	2,908 27	1,861 39	

TREASURER'S OFFICE, *West Point, N. Y., June 9, 1849.*

B. S. ALEXANDER,
Lieutenant Engineers and Treasurer Military Academy.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY,
West Point, N. Y., September 30, 1849.

SIR: In compliance with the circular of the department of the 15th ultimo, I have the honor to transmit herewith an estimate of funds required for the United States Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851.

The sums asked for a hospital for the enlisted men of the post, the new mess-hall, and riding-hall, are for the completion of those buildings, in addition to the grants already made by Congress for those objects. An appropriation of $3,000 is asked for the erection of a building for a permanent guard-house and commissary store, which is much needed at the post, having no proper building for that purpose. The amount asked for under the head of *repairs and improvements* is increased $2,000, the greater portion of this sum being necessary for a building to replace the old quarters recently occupying the site of the new mess-hall, and which has been demolished preparatory to constructing the latter building. In consequence of the number of halls in the new cadet barracks, the quantity of oil necessary for lighting will require to be very much increased, which has added considerably to the amount asked for under the head of *miscellaneous and incidental expenses.* The sum necessary to complete the new cadet barracks has not been included in this estimate, it having been usual for the officer having the immediate construction of the building to ask for such amounts as may be required from year to year. The western portion of the new barrack already completed, has been occupied by one-half the corps of cadets since the 31st ultimo. Although not included in my estimate, I would recommend an appropriation of $2,500 for apparatus, and making the necessary alterations for warming the academic building, the library, and chapel, by heated air. This, besides being more economical in the end, would add much to the police of the buildings, and make them more safe as to fire.

All which is very respectfully submitted.

HEN. BREWERTON,
Captain Corps Engineers, Superintendent Military Academy.

Brig. Gen. JOS. G. TOTTEN,
Chief Engineer, Washington, D. C.

Report of Lieut. W. H. C. Whiting, Corps of Engineers, of the exploration of a new route from San Antonio de Bexar to El Paso.

SAN ANTONIO, *June* 10, 1849.

Gen. J. G. TOTTEN, *Chief Engineer of the United States:*

GENERAL: The party organized by order of General Worth as an escort to Lieutenant Smith, topographical engineer, and myself, on our reconnaissance to El Paso, and under my command, consisted of nine men, regarded as well versed in frontier life and experienced as woodsmen and hunters.

We left San Antonio the evening of the 12th February, and, owing to the very severe weather, a wet norther having rendered the roads very heavy, and the fact that our mules, both pack and saddle, were many of

them wild, and gave great trouble and delay, only reached Fredericksburg on the 19th.

This town is the last settlement on our route, and distant from San Antonio about seventy-five miles, in a direction a little west of north. The road between these places is through a limestone country, generally well watered, and at convenient distances, but often hilly and stony. Two days were necessarily consumed here in procuring additional animals and provisions—our hasty outfit being found incomplete, and several of the mules unfit for the journey before them.

We started from Fredericksburg on the evening of the 21st of February, and the general direction of the courses of the march having been intrusted by me to Richard Howard, esq., the volunteer guide of the party, we made the best of our way towards the head of the river San Saba. To his extensive and accurate knowledge of the country traversed, we were indebted for a march through pleasant and well-watered valleys, admirably adapted for the purposes of a road, and presenting but little labor to the pioneer.

The general formation of this part of the country is secondary. We met with but few evidences of the primary stratifications, and those chiefly on the Llano and on the right bank of the San Saba. I should not judge, from the necessarily hasty and imperfect examination afforded by the march through, that the region is at all rich in mineral products; although we met with evidences that the enterprising Spanish adventurers, in their search for silver, had traversed the country many years before us. The interesting ruins of the San Saba fort, their position and extent, and the vague traditions among both Indians and white men of its establishment, and the existence in its vicinity of rich silver mines, seem to contradict this idea; but, though search has often been made for the locality in question, I have heard of no success, nor can I, in anything to which I have access, obtain authentic information as to the object, commencement, and final destruction of this fortress.

Leaving the head of the San Saba river in the morning of the 2d of March, we camped at night upon a little water found in a hole about fifteen miles west, and barely sufficient for the purposes of our small party. It was the last we were to see until one o'clock on the night of the 5th. We emerged on the morning of the 3d upon the elevated table plain, a vast limestone formation, extending many hundred miles, arid and barren, and thinly clad with scattering mezquite, affording a home for the prairie dog and antelope alone.

The singular accuracy of Mr. Howard's judgment was here evident, and in a track he had never traversed. Leading the trail, he brought us, with the instinct of a bee, to the precise spot where the party under Hays and Highsmith had separated on their return to San Antonio. Here, we had been told we could have water, and from this point it would be abundant until we reached the Pecos. We passed many places where water once had been, but for three days, starting at daylight, and the last day marching until twelve at night, our panting animals, alike with their riders, were unrefreshed by a single drop. A slight mist, which moistened the grass on the night of the 3d, together with the fortunate occurrence of cool and cloudy weather, I believe alone enabled the party to get through.

Here we struck a creek of the Pecos river, and saw the strange manner

in which the rivers and creeks break through the vast limestone strata that many feet above their beds form the great table land. The descent from the latter is generally difficult, often impracticable—perpendicular limestone bluffs, bounding the level plain and rising like steps from the river, and cut by deep ravines, which show the whole elevation in the form of truncated cones, are the general obstacles. Occasional passes are found, however, and on one of these we were fortunate to hit.

This remarkable river, of which so little is known, rises in the mountains near Santa Fe, and, entering the limestone formation in about the latitude of 31° north, its valley gradually contracts until at length it is found near its mouth winding amid perpendicular cliffs; for hundreds of miles it rolls a red and turbid stream, by a channel of only forty feet in width, and rarely varying, with great rapidity and intricate windings, to the eastern point of the large bend of the Rio Grande.

The fords are not numerous or easy.

I found it necessary to construct a small foot-bridge of live-oak logs for the passage of our packs. The water at first is not pleasant, but the taste soon becomes accustomed to it. This is probably owing to the vast salt and mineral plains through which it runs further to the northward.

Our route lay up the bank for some forty miles. As it advanced, nothing could exceed the appearance of desolation and barrenness gradually assumed by the neighboring country. Bare and bleak hills of the same monotonous table formation, and the almost entire want of timber or even foliage, make the landscape a desert. The only wood to be had here for travelling purposes is the stunted mezquite, which here and there furnishes sufficient for cooking. Much travel would soon exhaust that.

The weary march without water had rendered it necessary to recruit the mules by short marches and long rests; and it was not until the 12th that we left the river by a west course. Twenty-five miles of prairie, occasionally intersected by dry gullies and clothed with a growth of chaparral, brought us to a spring, the first of a remarkable range. They appear to extend along the base of the Charrate Sierra. Strongly mineral in their character, large quantities of various kinds of salts are found encrusted on the grass near them. They are pleasant to the taste. Destitute of any mark by which it may be known there is water at hand, the traveller, before he is aware of it, finds himself immediately upon a clear and refreshing spring. There are five of these as yet found by us, though many more may exist, generally from ten to twenty miles apart, and about fifteen from the base of the mountains. Small creeks generally flow from them for a short distance, and then sink into the prairie. Want of proper facilities prevented an analysis of the salts which appeared on the grass hard by. Two of these springs are designated on the maps of Wislizenus, the intelligent and learned gentleman who accompanied the expedition under Doniphan, as the Ojo Leon and Ojo Escondido; but, put down probably from report, or the maps of the Mexicans, their position and course are not correct.

Our direction was now assumed generally west, in order to leave the mountains known as the Charrate and Diabolo on our left, and, avoiding the rough country in this manner, afterwards strike in a southerly course for Presidio. We were unacquainted with the nature of the great region to our right. The blue peaks of these mountains were plainly visible, and we bore for them.

As we approached, the whole aspect of the country changed. The aqueous formation gave place to the more rugged work of fire: instead of the flat limestone tables, we found hills of difficult access, crowned with dark masses of amygdaloidal basalt. The columnar structure and great height of the cliffs gave an imposing aspect to the scenery.

Finding that as we advanced the range still continued stretching far away to the northward, it was decided to attempt the passage of the mountains and to shape our march directly for Presidio. On the 17th we entered the valleys at the base of the Sierra Diabolo, little aware of the dangers in our path. Following an old and faintly-marked trail, which led us close to the main peaks, we had traversed, as we imagined, the whole range, and the country gradually began to appear more open; but, soon after entering a valley where the hills prevented an extended view, the party, on the afternoon of the 17th, were suddenly and completely surrounded by five bands of the Apache warriors, each under its respective chief, and numbering altogether some two hundred mounted men.

Viewing us as intruders, they advanced with great rapidity, with hostile gestures, bows strung, and brandished lances. Completely enveloped, where but little resistance could be made to numbers so greatly superior, without even a shrub to which to tie our frightened animals, and numbering only twelve armed men, the situation of the little band was perilous. Judging that here policy was the true course, while Lieutenant Smith and Mr. Howard coolly extricated the command from their dangerous neighbors, and without hurry or confusion reached the side of a small hill, I remained among the Indians, and gained a little time by holding up my hand for them to stop, and calling on their chiefs for a parley. This was agreed to. Why, I know not; for never were men more completely in the power of this treacherous race than ourselves. They sternly demanded who we were, and for what we were in the Apache country. One of them, named Gomez, and, as we afterwards learned, the terror of Chihuahua, was particularly anxious to attack at once. They were answered that we were Americans, en route to Presidio; our intentions depended on their own. We had come there peaceable; that we remained so, belonged to them. They insisted that we should instantly come with them and have a talk, but were told there could be no conference until their men were drawn off and they came up unarmed. This appeared to excite dissension among them. Some were for instant attack, while others were undecided. Mr. Howard came down and joined me. The chief Gomez called out that we were afraid, and that if we did not move as they said, their fight would commence; but there was that in the eye and reply of our intrepid young guide and interpreter that caused him to lower his tone. It was satisfactory to see at this moment the cool and resolute demeanor of the escort, who, under the direction of Lieutenant Smith, had now tied the heads of their animals together, and were waiting for the raising of a hand to commence the unequal struggle. On the right and left two parties had stripped and dismounted, with their bows and arrows, in readiness to take us as nearly as possible in flank, while another in front, and mounted, appeared about to charge. But the influence of Gomez was not sufficient to bring the majority of the chiefs to his advice, and they agreed to draw off their people and parley. This was done; and it was decided that they should proceed in advance to the water hard by, where they were encamped, and that we should follow, select our

camp, and in the evening decide our future relations by council. We took post in a small ravine, which afforded some little chance for defence. The Indians, who had here a very large cavalcade of horses and a drove of cattle, were all around us. Our situation was gloomy, and few considered we had a chance to escape. The chief Gomez was particularly urgent that we should scatter about and look for wood, here quite scarce, and go to cooking, repeatedly saying he was friendly; but, observing that his party were all mounted, and their bows still strung, we remained together, each man by his saddle, his arms in his hand, and watching with great anxiety the movements of the Indians.

At eight in the evening, the chiefs, unarmed and with their blankets, appeared to talk. Through the medium of Mr. Howard, I explained that we were an advanced party of the army soon to appear upon this line; that towards all friendly Indians the intentions of the United States were friendly; agents would probably be sent among them, and while they continued peaceable they would be put upon the same footing with the other Indian tribes; that the commanding general was desirous that their chiefs should meet him on his approach and enter into a treaty. Making them some trifling presents of tobacco, &c., which they begged as an earnest of amity, they all seemed satisfied but Gomez, who to the last retained his fierce and insulting demeanor.

They were anxious as to our relations with Mexico, and were told that we had been at war with that power, but were now at peace, and that the army would advance to maintain that peace. The slightest allusion, however, to that part of the treaty which relates to restraining Indian depredations upon Mexico and restoring Mexican captives would have been the signal for a desperate struggle, from which fifteen men, with but two days' scant allowance of provisions, without wood and water, and totally unsheltered, badly armed, and worse equipped, had but little chance to escape with life.

We lay down that night upon our arms. The extreme coldness of the mountain atmosphere increased our discomfort. Expecting to be attacked each moment, but little sleeping was done. In the morning we learned from a Mexican captive that a war-talk had been held, and Gomez was only prevented during the night from falling on us by the refusal of the chiefs Cigarrito and Chinonero to aid him.

Saddling up on the morning of the 18th, and leaving this locality, designated in our after conversations as "Gomez camp," we retraced our march of yesterday, guided by the friendly chief Cigarrito. Gomez himself took leave in a very insulting manner, and warned us never to visit that country again. We learned that he was then but four days from Mexico, with a large calvalcade, a great many cattle, and the plunder of his recent excursions into Chihuahua. The old chief who, riding at the head of our train, related these things, added that we must beware of him, for his designs were yet hostile, and begged to be exculpated from all share in his operations. We stopped at Cigarrito's camp, taking a position above it from which we could defy alike open attack and treachery. The Indians, whether friendly or hostile, are the most accomplished thieves I ever met with, and not one who was permitted to come near our fires, in spite of watching, but went off laden with small articles. The most serious loss to myself I did not discover until some days afterwards, when I found that my saddle-bags had been picked of

various things, including a bundle of papers, comprising all my orders, instructions, letters, private journal, and money vouchers for disbursements at Fredericksburg. It was done while the council was being held and it was dark. Thus the desire of one day retaliating upon Gomez and his party was not lessened by the reflection that he was then probably using my most important papers to cover cigarritos.

The warning of the old chief of the southern Apaches was not needless. Inducing, by the gift of a couple of blankets, one of his men to put us on a trail which might cross the range of mountains, we left the Apache village. Our route was still somewhat back upon our course, for we found we had come a great deal west, and were told that a difficult and tedious path would have to be followed south if we persisted. The Indian at length, coming in sight of a notable mountain peak, pointed the course and left us. We entered fairly into the gorge of a beautiful pass, and through it, winding its way between lofty and perpendicular walls of basalt, runs a clear brook. The travel was fine, a continued succession of cottonwood groves, mixed with cedar, oak, and hackberry, while the multitudes of wild roses, the only ones we had met with in Texas, made a new feature in the picture. We were pleased to find that little or no labor would be required to pass the road through the mountains here; and this, for we had almost despaired of a practicable route, gave new courage.

A small band of Indians in advance of us, and whom we met in the pass towards night, took to flight.

The creek I named the Limpia, and at one o'clock the next day, 20th March, we passed the mountains and reached the point where we were to leave its refreshing waters. The cottonwood trees here, growing to great size, were marked with the rude painting of the Comanches.

Alarm smokes and signal smokes had now begun to appear in every direction, and the signs around us warned us to be guarded. Although only one o'clock, all our preparations to camp were made; the animals staked out, packs and saddles properly placed. The men carefully examined their arms.

At eight o'clock at night, saddling up, we silently took up our sombre march; leaving our camp fires burning, quitting the trails, as another measure of precaution, and holding our course by the stars, the men were directed to march four and five abreast, the pack mules to be led, and the Mexicans to be ready to fasten all the animals together at a moment's warning. We were traversing a bare dogstown prairie. It was there that Gomez expected to have us at advantage. Two hours had scarcely passed when the sudden flashing of signal fires showed our departure was discovered. Expecting every instant the yell of the enemy, almost helpless in our exposed position, the wind blowing a gale in chill and furious gusts, the darkness of the night, with the mountain peaks behind us lit up with the glare of the fires, combined to render that march one which few of us will forget.

Reaching, at one at night, a huge pile of boulders of grit, wearied and desperate, we stopped. The next day we reached the ruins of the Cibolo, where we might regard ourselves in position to bid defiance to Gomez.

It may not be irrelevant here to notice that, on our return march from El Paso, we came by the "Painted Camp" on the Limpia. The grass, where we left it so green and luxuriant, had been trampled by hundreds

of horses, and round our camp fires two hundred Apache lodges had been placed the morning only after we had left. Their trails had come in from every direction upon the raising of the signal fires. We learned that Gomez had intended to take us that night, but lost our track.

On the 24th, after a fatiguing march from the mountains, subsisting on a spoonful of pinoli apiece per diem, and for the last three days our allowance of meat reduced to a slice of panther which the Delaware had killed, we reached Fort Leaton. This is the ranch of an American who has placed himself opposite Presidio del Norte.

We had thus, in thirty-two days from Fredericksburg, reached the "Norte." From this point to the Pecos we had found a fine road. The want of water between that river and the San Saba appeared an insurmountable obstacle; but we hoped in returning to find a better route.

The enterprising owner of the vicinity, Mr. Leaton, exerted himself to the utmost, with but small resources, to furnish provisions and animals for our further progress to El Paso, and to advance the expedition in every possible way.

I take great pleasure in noticing Mr. Leaton here. His position is in every respect remarkable. Located in a valley of the Rio Grande, a little below Presidio, with some eight or ten Americans in his employment, he has in a few months accomplished a great amount of severe labor, fortified himself in a good position, secured his stock, and carried to considerable extent his farming operations, his men being all the while obliged to work with their arms at hand. They have been exposed to the incursions of the Indians on one side, and to a series of outrageous impositions and aggressions on the part of the Mexicans on the other, and forced to mount guard day and night. I deemed it my duty to make to General Worth a report upon the conduct of the Mexican authorities at this place.

Mr. Leaton informed me that the Indian tribes were all hostile, and apprehended that it would be impossible to avoid fighting on the march to El Paso. I accordingly increased the party by the addition of two men—all I could find to go with me. Leaving all the baggage which could be spared, and an account of our journey thus far, we set out from Fort Leaton on the 30th of March, to try and find a route by the river to El Paso. I was pleased to find that my men were in nowise daunted by the prophecy that we would not return, and the accounts of the dangers of the route. They appeared, as always, indifferent and resolute. The importance of a river road between these points had been strongly urged by General Worth.

Fourteen days' march, toilsome and severe, through the splendid scenery of the Rio Grande, sometimes climbing precipitous paths high above the river, sometimes winding along its bank, brought the party to El Paso. During that time we rarely let go our arms, and every precaution of close order of march, scouts in advance and rear, and sentinels whenever we stopped, was adopted and kept up. Fortunately for us, the population of the Rio Grande had left the many Indian towns which successively astonished us, and had retired to spend the spring and summer in the mountains—another of the many instances of providential escape which marked our course.

The first fifty miles lay through a well-wooded valley of the river, presenting little or no obstacle to the passage of the troops. A small

fatigue party should always be in advance to clear the chaparral and slope the gullies. The soil is firm gravelly sand, apparently on the river banks quite fertile. The next thirty miles, however, is in the formation called by the Mexicans "caxones," or boxes. Here the red hills are washed by the river, which they overhang in bold precipitous bluffs exceedingly difficult to travel, and much labor will be required to pass a road. Steep narrow ridges of gravel intersect the valley, where valley exists, and at other points high hills, having a base generally of sandstone of different varieties, must be turned or climbed by a winding course upon their sides.

From this, with the exception of two passes of a few miles in extent, where the road will cross the hills of the Notch and the Eagle Pass of Mount Chase, the travelling is fair. Beyond, for a hundred miles, the valley of the river gradually widens into fine bottom land, heavily timbered with the cottonwood, light sandy soil, when irrigated judiciously, affording good crops, and fine sites for settlements or posts. This valley finds its northern limit in the mountains which enclose El Paso, and contains the Island, a large tract of fertile land, well settled and cultivated, and now, from the deepest channel of the river being to the west, belonging to the United States.

The difficulties in the way of communication by the Rio Grande bank between Presidio and El Paso are not sufficient to do away with its importance to the public interest. Bound to afford protection to our own settlements which in course of time advance into this region, and by the stipulations of solemn treaty to restrain and punish Indian depredations upon Mexico, I regard the construction of a military road upon the river here as absolutely necessary to this end. Independent of the fact that communication between posts is itself one great and most efficient barrier to savage incursions, early secured, it induces settlements, which, in time, peopled by our hardy pioneers, become the best defence of a frontier.

The range of the numerous Apache tribes is directly upon this river. Their winter towns are extensive upon its banks; their spring and summer retreats are found in the mountains, which, with little interruption, extend from Presidio to Santa Fé. Sheltered by the rugged hills of the Rio Grande from the winter storms, their families remain in the cottonwood groves, where their towns are built, while the warriors carry terror and desolation throughout Chihuahua. From the capital to the extreme frontier no hamlet exists where the ruthless hand of the Apache has not been felt. Eye-witnesses alone can have an accurate idea of the terrible extent of these maraudings. On the Mexican side, and in sight of our path, three large presidios, with the remains of cultivation about them, now inhabited by the crow and the wolf alone, stand melancholy monuments of Mexican weakness and Indian ferocity.

Should the route pass to the east of this range, as a military barrier it will be worthless. It should come where the Indians cross with their plunder, and whence, by their known trails, the recesses of the mountains may be reached. The establishment of moving camps, of active mounted men, always on the alert, always ready, it is thought would tend to the speedy establishment of a much more peaceable state of things, and at the same time be attended with but little more expense than fixed garrisons. The post of depot and refuge should be garrisoned by infanty, but it will be

found that the only efficient force for our great national purposes on this important frontier is cavalry.

On the night of the 12th April we reached Ponce's ranch, opposite El Paso, the terminus of our outward bound march. The town of El Paso, until the march of Doniphan's column but little known in our country, and that only to the few traders who from time to time passed through it, is situated about eight miles below the Pass, with a population of five thousand. At the head of a fertile tract of the Rio Grande bottom, and shut into the river by the gravel hills to the west, it rejoices in a pleasant climate and productive soil. The low adobes, or mud-walled houses, are relieved to the eye by luxuriant orchards, pretty gardens, and well pruned vineyards. The green and fresh wheat crops growing around, the peach, and pear, and apricot, and quince, in endless profusion, and the fine appearance of the vegetables, give promise of what American industry and cultivation might do where the Mexican is so productive. They raise with their rude instruments only what they require themselves, of wines, liquors, and grains. In skilful hands the grape here grown will produce delightful wine.

But the greatest abundance and best cultivation is found on La Isla, the fertile island of the Rio Grande, below El Paso, about thirty miles in length, from four to eight broad, and studded with the little towns of Isleta, Socoro, and San Elezano. This island now belongs to the United States, a change greatly rejoiced in by its denizens, but extremely disliked by the Mexican government.

A scarcity at present prevails in the El Paso valley. This is owing to the fact of their rarely raising more than sufficient for their own wants and the heavy drains upon the farmers by the march of the columns during the war and after the peace. Of stock, the Indians have taken care; and scarcely anything remains of the once numerous herds belonging to the town.

The little hamlet of Isleta, however, originally a village of the Pueblo Indians, as they are called, holds its own well; the slender remnant of some old Aztec tribe, the tradition still alive among them that one day their great Montezuma will return to lift their yoke and redress their wrongs, cultivating patiently their little farms, and retaining to the last their animosity to the Mexican. These, of greater heart than their masters, meet the Apache with his own weapons, and keep themselves inviolate. Still holding to their own dialects and to many old customs, and but half christianised, their worship a rude mixture of Catholic and Pagan rites, their numbers are fast dwindling away, and but few years will pass before the last altar fire of their race will be extinguished.

At an interval of leisure at El Paso, I examined the position of Frontera, situated directly at the pass, with a view to the location of a post for the troops. It appeared to me adapted for the purpose. From it the Santa Fé road, the ford, the Chihuahua and El Paso branches are all commanded, and the control of communications in all directions given to our forces.

Having at length, with much difficulty, succeeded in obtaining a supply of fresh animals and sufficient subsistence, on the 19th of April we joyfully set out on our return march. Several different routes to the Pecos had been proposed to me, but they all struck too much to the north; and, fearful of again encountering the thirsty desert of the great Llano

Estacado, I determined, by the advice of the able engineer, Mr. Howard, to take the course for San Antonio, convinced that a route could be had. The strength of the party I had nearly doubled, with a view to a different meeting with our friend Gomez, should we fall in with him.

I had secured the services of the brave Captain Skillman, the same gallant adventurer who, with twenty-one men, dashed into the square of El Paso and took General Armijo in his own town. He had volunteered on the hazardous duty of going to Presidio, and there obtaining the baggage and papers I had left, with such animals as were fit to return. He was to cross the mountains and attempt to join me on the Pecos. I could spare him but three men, and he left on his perilous adventure two days before us.

Our route now lay for one hundred miles down the Rio Grande; and, following in the trail by which Gomez had gone out with his late plunder, we were led through a fine pass of the Rio Grande hills, cut by the action of water through an extensive formation of argillaceous and calcareous sandstone. A deserted camp of numberless lodges covered the valley into which the pass emerged, showing that here, too, the Apache had his home.

Crossing an extensive prairie, or broad valley, lying between the Rio Grande mountains and the Sierra Diabolo, we entered the northwestern hills of that extensive range at a point about twenty miles to the west and north of where we were met by Gomez and his band.

Here features of country entirely new presented themselves. The mountains of granite and porphyry, further to the south of basaltic rock, are the most striking we have yet seen. Following an old Indian path, it led us to a deep ravine, in which trickled a clear and cold mountain spring; from this it climbed, by a steep and perilous ascent of fifteen hundred feet, what we at first thought was a high hill in our course. It proved to be an elevated table valley, from which, surrounded by groves of oak of every kind and large pines, the loftier peaks rear their heads. The ascent was very severe, but amply repaid by the magnificence of the scene. Stopping to breathe, we could see stretching far to the northward the yellow prairie, with the blue mountains of the Rio Grande in the distance, while beneath, at a fearful depth, lay the ravine, relieved in its rugged grandeur by the dark hues of clusters of Spanish oaks and the occasional glitter of the rivulet in its bottom. Our march, refreshed by frequent springs, continued over pleasant slopes and through superb scenery. The aspect of the whole of this elevated table, the pines and large oaks, altogether so different from any country yet explored by us, almost forced us to the belief that we were too far to the north for our course. We attempted to extricate ourselves from the mountains, now becoming rugged and difficult, by following the course of a creek, but, after hours of slow and toilsome progress between huge walls and over large masses of granite and basalt, we were forced to retrace our steps. Despairing of the road, we were suddenly relieved by the discovery of a pass when most wished for, and shortly had the satisfaction of resting on the headwaters of the Limpia.

Marching by the Wild Rose Pass, the scene of our gloomy night escape, we continued with little trouble and by rapid stages to the Pecos, taking in our route, and at convenient distance, the springs of the "Basin," the Awache, and the Escondido. Continuing down this river by its right

bank, twenty miles below where we crossed before, we were making preparations to ford, when we were relieved by the sudden appearance of Skillman and his men. We had been very anxious about them. Indian signs upon our march had been fresh and frequent. He, too, had met with Gomez, but we now learned that that wily chief, finding that we had escaped him and reached El Paso, had in the mean time moved nearer to Presidio, and, fearing lest we might come back with a stronger party, had made a treaty with Mr. Leaton, and permitted Skillman to pass unmolested through his whole tribe.

A march of two days, a distance of about thirty-five miles from the Pecos, brought us to the head springs of the San Pedro, a clear river, which, after a tortuous course of some fifty or sixty miles, finds its way to the Rio Grande. This stream, laid down on the maps as the old boundary between the States of Coahuila and Chihuahua, is but little known. Disturnell's map—an exceedingly incorrect representation, by the way, of the geography of this whole region—puts down upon it an old Spanish fortress called Fort del Altar. We found no traces of it in a march from its head to its mouth. The neighboring country is remarkable. The great limestone table elevation so unbroken, further to the north, is here cut up by innumerable ravines, or cañons, of great depth, and frequently showing the whole side but one perpendicular wall. The road here in several places would require preparation, but a tolerable route is easily obtained by keeping the "Divide" for one-half of the way, and the cañons of the Pecos for the other. We crossed the San Pedro at the "Painted Pass," an old ford of the Comanches. I gave it its name from the Indian signs in it—descending from the Divide by a picturesque cañon which showed in its high walls numerous limestone caves. In one of the largest we stopped to noon. Here, upon the walls, the Comanches had painted their rude sketches of successful forays into Mexico. It seemed that wherever the Indian had his choicest retreats and his most favorable routes, we were bound to go

Here, again, we fellshort of provisions, but, more fortunate than before in the nature of our game, the spoils of five bears, and the successful prowess of our hunter with the venison and the bees, kept us abundantly supplied until we reached the settlements.

Crossing the San Pedro, we emerged in the fine Las Moras valley, an extensive succession of rolling plains, watered by numerous streams, timbered with the live-oak and pecan, and the mezquite, and presenting the finest stock range and the richest soil I had seen in Texas. The travelling was now excellent, and this unbroken country extended to San Antonio, towards which from the "Painted Pass" our course had been nearly east.

After an absence of one hundred and four days, long since given up as lost by all but a few of the most sanguine, we made our appearance in Bexar on the 24th of May, our long and tedious march having by its delay saved an encounter with the cholera, which I consider as another instance of fortunate escape.

A brief summary of the discovered route will not be out of place in this letter. It is extracted mainly from the report rendered in accordance with orders, immediately upon our arrival, to headquarters of the eighth and ninth departments.

Leaving a point on the gulf near Lavaca, it passes through San Anto-

nio, and thence westward, by the well-known Woll road, as far as Leona Mound. Continuing a general westerly course, it crosses the Nueces some twelve miles from the Leona, and, ascending from the bed of that river to the plateau beyond, passes the country already described to the "Painted Pass" of the San Pedro. Between these two points it crosses, at convenient distances, the running water of the Piasano, the Elm, the Las Moras, the Zoquete, the Pedro, and the San Felipe; thus, in a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, crossing six quite large creeks, with their numerous tributaries. The grazing so far is very good; beyond is not so fair.

Between the San Pedro and the Pecos the labors of the pioneers commence. The road, crossing the former at the "Painted Pass," ascends on to the level Divide by the Cañon of the Caves ; this cañon is abundantly supplied with water a few miles further; and on this *level* table is found the Arroyo de los Palos Blancos, a singular creek, the water of which appears to be slightly sulphuretted; it is, however, drinkable. Two days' march from the Painted Pass reaches the head of running water in the San Pedro, and another finds the so-called head spring, a clear lagoon of living water, surrounded by a heavy growth of pecan.

From this to the river Pecos, a distance of about thirty-five miles, permanent water will not be found; in all wet seasons, however, it is abundant.

The road follows the valley of the Pecos in a northwesterly course for about fifty miles, and then leaving it in a general west direction, and taking in its course the notable springs of the prairie, may pass the Sierra Diabolo by the Wild Rose Pass, or further to the northward by the Gomez Pass, and then strike the Rio Grande about one hundred miles below El Paso. The course of this river is very incorrectly laid down on the maps; the point at which the road strikes it is nearly in the course between El Paso and San Antonio, the general direction of the stream being here east of southeast. Thence it follows the river to El Paso, leaving it twice by suitable passes to avoid the precipitous hills which overhang the waters.

The object of the reconnaissance, as stated in the order of General Worth, to "ascertain if there be a practicable and convenient route for military and commercial purposes between El Paso and the Gulf of Mexico, passing by or near San Antonio or Austin, in Texas," has thus been attained. The great difficulty apprehended was the want of permanent water. It will be seen that no water has been mentioned which is not characterized as living water, and great care was taken to locate the route in such a manner that in all wet seasons water may be found in great abundance. It is believed that no other route yet known to the west presents in this respect the same facilities.

We had thus accomplished our task, with how much good fortune I need not say. Poorly mounted, few in numbers, and hastily equipped, our means of reconnaissance, on our right hand and on our left, were entirely wanting; and, glad to return at all, we have been more than satisfied that a route of any description has been found. In so extensive a country, and so little known, it cannot be said that neither other nor better routes do not exist. Much remains to be known. The geography and geology of the whole region is yet to be settled. But so much is accomplished. It is demonstrated that, untroubled by the storms of winter, a route from the Gulf of Mexico to the great West is opened for the south-

ern States. And it is not improbable that, at no distant day, the continent of Asia and the great Chinese Empire will by this region become to the United States no longer an Eastern, but another Western world.

In concluding this letter, I would say to the Chief Engineer that it is intended merely as a general summary from my journal, and I regret exceedingly that the want of means, and especially of force, has precluded my adding in any manner to the statistical and geological information of the country. I have no apology to make for it but the circumstances of the expedition—not scientific, for we had no time to supply either books, instruments, or maps; not military, for the organization of the party was directly the reverse.

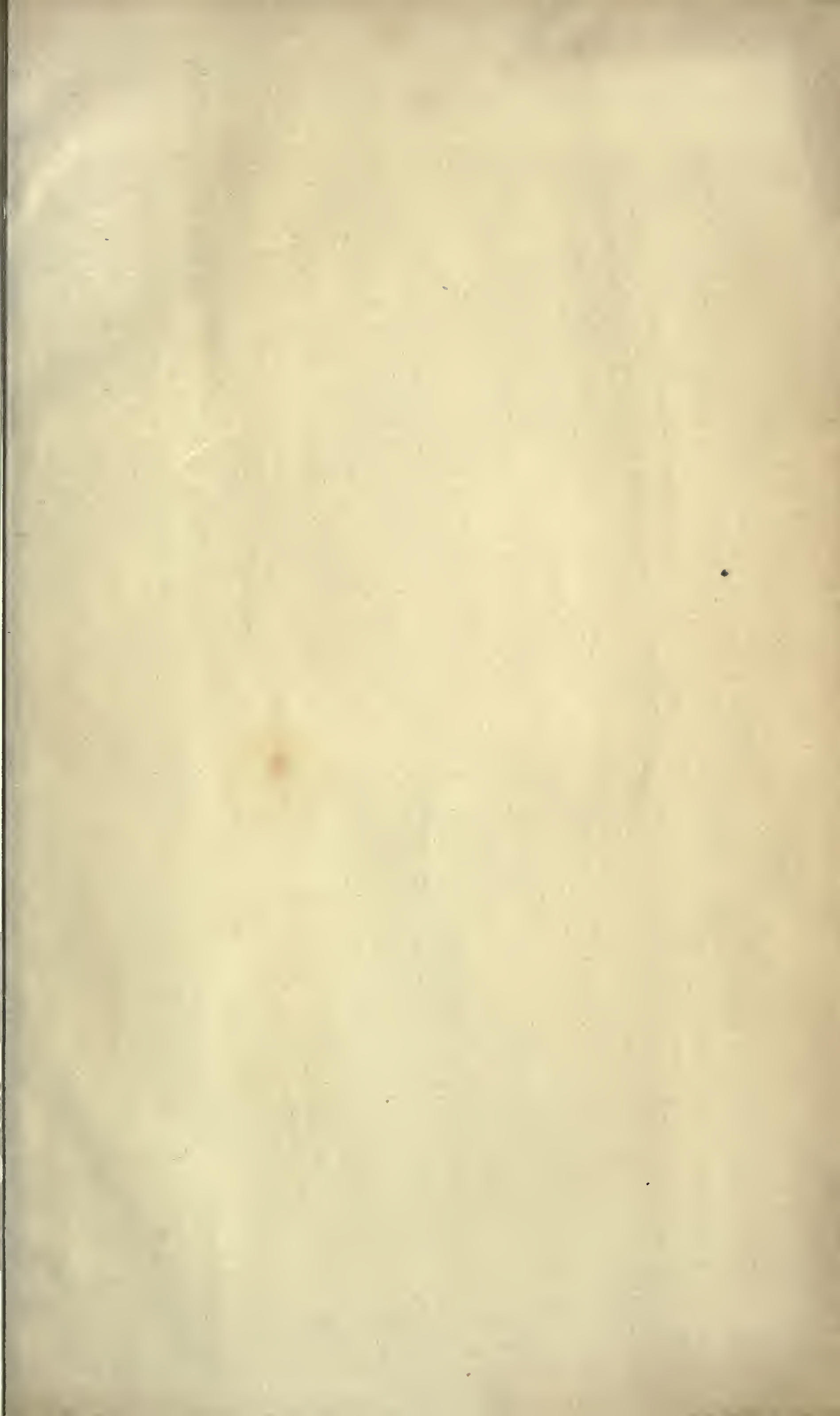
The details of courses, events, &c., will be found in the journal. Possessing none of that interest which scientific explorations have for the thinking and well-informed, and still less the attractive character which similar adventures would enjoy in the hands of a skilful narrator, it is but a meagre outline of labors which at least were zealous.

Accompanying is a rough sketch of the march, made by the compass, and of course only an approximation to the geography of the country. It may serve to convey an idea of the route.

Howard, an accomplished guide, whose judgment, whenever at fault, his decision compensated; and Brady, with his hardy companions, who, resolute and unmurmuring, escorted us for a march of near sixteen hundred miles, I would once more introduce to the Chief Engineer, accompanying the notice with my thanks.

I am, General, your most obedient servant,

W. H. C. WHITING,
Lieutenant of Engineers.



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